

Torture-Ridden Politics, Eruption of Wrath



**Letters from
South Korea**

Letters from South Korea

Torture-Ridden Politics, Eruption of Wrath

Foreign Languages Publishing House
Pyongyang, Korea
1 9 8 8

EDITOR'S NOTE

This book contains some of the "Letters from South Korea" carried in the Japanese political review "Sekai" between April and August of 1987.

Given here is the news about the struggle of the south Korean people from all walks of life who fight self-sacrificingly against the government by tortures and violence practised by the Chun Doo Hwan junta, and the machination of the Democratic Justice Party to prolong its stay in power and for the democratization of society and the reunification of the country.

June 1988

C O N T E N T S

The Torture-Ridden Politics, the Mourning-Swept Political Situation	1
Protest against Murder by Torture	1
February 7, the Day of National Mourning	7
 The Story of the Archipelago of Asylums	17
Endless Violence	17
The Mysterious Death of Kim Yong Gwon	23
Kim Dae Jung and Kim Young Sam	33
 The Days Full of Signs of Downfall	42
The Church Fighting with a Close Crop and Fast	42
The Struggle of Intellectuals and Resistance of the Poor	49
The Founding of the Reunification Democratic Party in Rough Going	57
 Eruption of Resentments and the Eve of the Revolution	70
Journalists' Statement on the Prevailing Situation and the Case of the Journal "Mal" (Language)	70
Operations to Cover Up the Culprits of Pak Jong Chol's Murder by Torture	74
The Case of Seoul Education College and Li Han Ryol's Loss of Consciousness	80
Formation of the Headquarters of the National Movement to Fight for a Democratic Constitution	85
Confrontation on June 10	92

THE TORTURE-RIDDEN POLITICS, THE MOURNING-SWEPT POLITICAL SITUATION

February 15, 1987

Protest against Murder by Torture

Pak Jong Chol, a student of Seoul University, was killed by torture at anti-communist investigation group No. 2 of the Internal Security Headquarters at Namyong-dong, Ryongsan District, Seoul, at about 11:20 a.m. of January 14, 1987. But nobody had thought that this would change the situation of the country to such a great extent. Those who are addicted to violence will finally meet their end due to the violence. If violence is the only means of rule over the people of this country, we should say there is almost no way for them to maintain their power.

According to the investigation made by the New Korea Democratic Party, the students who were missing after they were walked off by security agents number more than 50. Many of them were reported to have committed suicide. Some were murdered deliberately by the agents while others were tortured to death and their bodies were thrown into the sea.

Even now the prosecution insists that Pak Jong Chol's death was not caused by torture. It contends that Pak was taken to anti-communist investigation group No. 2 at 8:40 in the morning and died at 11:20. So there was not sufficient time to torture him to death, they argued. But the landlord

of Pak Jong Chol's lodging house resolutely denied the contention about the time when Pak was taken away. He said that the student had not returned home the previous night.

Probably he had been apprehended by the police somewhere in the night and put to tortures all through the night. So the prosecution retracted their former statement and said that Pak was marched off at 6:30 in the morning and arrived at anti-communist investigation group No. 2. or anti-communist investigation division, at 7:10 a.m. They argue that Pak was not killed by torture but "died from suffocation as his neck was pressed" against the edge of the bathtub when his head was pushed down and dipped into the water. In other words, it was not a murder by torture but an accident caused by mistake from "excessive zeal for work".

But even in such a situation, O Yon Sang, doctor of the hospital attached to Chungang University, told the press that Pak had been put to water torture and there were many wounds all over his body, particularly on his neck and chest. But the police kept the results of the postmortem examination in the dark and burned his body to ashes in great haste. For announcing the truth, O Yon Sang was interrogated for nine hours at the special unit of the Internal Security Headquarters, and his whereabouts was not known for nine days. Newspapers wrote that when he was warned that he would get into a scrape if he should tell it to the public, he replied distinctly that he would not feel sorry a bit for giving conscientious testimony as a doctor. How was it possible at the time of Pak Jong Chol's death to get the testimony of a conscientious and courageous doctor? In fact, many tragedies had been hushed up with the connivance of doctors.

On January 16 the newspaper "Chung-Ang Ilbo" (evening edition) featured the case of murder by torture on the front page. The chief of the Internal Security Headquarters

brought strong pressure to bear on the newspaper. As a result, the case was handled as a minor item on the page for local news. The rumour has it that the local news section chief of the paper was bribed with 10 million *won*. He tried to give the reporters of his section a treat, but the latter declined it, saying that they would not take such dirty money. *

When the paper "Chung-Ang Ilbo" was silenced in this way, the "Dong-A Ilbo" (evening edition) started highlighting this death from torture as the biggest news on the third page. It thought that there was nothing to fear now that the "Chung-Ang Ilbo" had made a start.

This induced all newspapers to write about this case with a rush, setting the whole country afire. On February 5, the Chun Doo Hwan clique sent an ultimatum to the "Dong-A Ilbo". If the paper did not refrain from reporting about the case, they threatened, they would remove its building since it had defects running counter to the city development law and would start an investigation into the paper's tax payment. This weakened the "Dong-A Ilbo's" tone.

The daring shown by the doctor O Yon Sang, the landlord of the victim's lodging Pak Gyong Ho, and the newspapers in connection with this case is worthy of special mention. The appearance of such fearless testimonies is an indication that history has come to the point it should reach. Therefore, the whole country was caught in a ferment as the press took up this case. The newspapers on their part kept reporting it without letup, inspired by the voices and encouragement of the people.

In face of the eruption of the people's indignation, Chun Doo Hwan and his ilk seemed unable to find the way out of this dilemma. They feverishly worked to think out a so-called "fire-fighting scenario." They invented a "fire-fighting news

report" every day with a view to diverting the people's attention from this murder case.

It appears that with the passage of time Pak Jong Chol's death is receding from memory as a past episode of history. These days Pak Jong Chol's death from torture is gradually falling out of the newspaper columns. Is it that the newspapers are going back to their former status of official gazettes? Awakened consciousness will be prudent in face of the violence, but will never recoil from it. At the memorial services held by the students of Seoul University, a girl student read a memorial address as follows:

You'll Never Be Taken Away from Us

— Today We Clench Our Fists with Indignation, Gulping
Down Hot Tears —

Thinking of your death

*As you were thrown into the ice-bound river in a
snowstorm*

On a cold day

Without even a tiny burial mound,

Before the soul of you,

*Our lost brother who should not have died but
should have survived*

To move about us,

We bite our lips.

Who snatched you away from us?

Who killed you?

We cannot even shed tears.

Yet we all know

*That you could never be one downtrodden,
That you could never be one in fetters.
You should have survived to the last
And cried out for liberation until you had a sore
throat.*

*You should have cut off the chains on this land
And taken the lead in the struggle.
Chol, even now you're living cheerfully and quick
with life*

*On this land, on this peninsula,
Where your murderers are still leading
Their dirty and nauseating lives.
Thinking of you who must be yearning and waiting in
death*

*For freedom and emancipation of human beings
Which you did not see when you were alive,
Which you could not win when you were alive,
We promise with our hearts bursting
Never to allow your death to be hushed up with lies
In this land polluted with lies.*

*And we'll declare,
Rising up and pressing you, our lost friend,
To our bosoms as hard as you're choked;
We'll declare our resolve,
With the combined force of indignation and hatred,
To put an end to
And to tolerate no more
The exploitation on this land,
The endless oppression,
The mass of contradictions enough to stifle our
breath,*

And all their remnants.

Chol,

Our comrade no one can ever tear away from us.

*Pray you become the flower of this country where
tears are all that there is,*

*The flower sprouting from the withered stalk on this
lean land,*

On the day we're looking forward to so ardently,

*On the day when all of us can dance the dance of
emancipation.*

And on that day

When we hear your voice

Echoing from the Mujin Plain,

From North Manchuria,

And from Mudung Hill,

At long last on that day

We shall shed warm tears for you.

Following an offhandedly arranged plain funeral, he, now a handful of ash, was thrown into the river. His shout was an echo of the battle cries of the Kwangju citizens who fought looking up at Mudung Hill in 1980.

His memorial service was held at Seoul University in the afternoon of January 20. The funeral flower pot was broken in a clash with the teaching staff who tried to interfere with the memorial service. Although it was the winter vacation, over 1,500 students assembled. The poem recital was often interrupted by tearful voices. The place of the memorial service was drowned with the sobs of the friends who called in tears "Jong Chol!" "Jong Chol!" And the doleful burial song *On the Flowery Bier* was sung.

*Good-bye to you riding on the flowery bier.
Dear friend, you are leaving this world after only
dreaming a rough dream.
Farewell to you riding on the flowery bier
Through the willow wood under the scorching sun
of this summer.*

*Cutting off the sorrow with the dagger we kept in our
bosom,
Ah, sprinkling the endless tears on the soil,
We bid farewell to you, friend, as you're leaving on
the flowery bier.
Farewell to you, friend, as you're leaving on the
flowery bier.*

This was the dirge sung for the now silent young friend who fell before the violence while fighting to defend the conscience budding out among the young people. This resentment, this grief will burst out in a terrific explosion this spring. At present the newspapers appear again to return to silence. But when the tempest of history comes to rage again, nobody will be able to get out of its vortex.

February 7, the Day of National Mourning

Voices protesting against tortures were loud all over the country. Demonstrations, memorial services and requiem mass continued in defiance of the suppression by the riot police. Memorial services were also held at Buddhist temples since Pak Jong Chol's family were Buddhist believers.

The South Korean Bar Association formed the headquarters of the pan-national movement for banishing tortures

and as a first step published a collection of testimonies to the tortures.

The Youth Federation of the Movement for Democracy published the pamphlet "The On-Scene Report of Human Butchery at the Internal Security Headquarters in Namyong-dong". It gives a detailed description of varied tortures including the electric torture applied to Kim Gun Tae, chairman of the Youth Federation. Now in prison, he testified to how he was tortured in a letter written in the form of petition. Let me introduce here only his writing about the electric torture:

"Electric torture put my nerves on edge, pulled up my blood vessels mercilessly and pained me as if every joint of bones was breaking up. My head ached as if it would burst. Seized with fear, I felt the shadow of death approaching. I had pins and needles in every part of my body.... I kept screaming. I could not help screaming when electricity ran from the toes to the top of the head. I felt as if every joint of my limbs were torn away. The only thing that remained of me was this scream. The veins all over my body bulged out black and blue, my voice grew hoarse and the groaning sound was as good as the last breath of a pig whose windpipe was cut open. Because I screamed, I was given a strong shock of current. When I bit my tongue not to groan, they told me to put out my tongue and applied a strong electric current to it for a good while. Then I was electrified for the reason that I tried to stifle the groan of pain. They aimed to put me into a state of general confusion and distraction. I was plunged into the whirlpool of panic and derangement in which I saw an insane woman with her long dishevelled hair covering her face and with crazed eyes coming over me. This was not the sort of grief or pain. It was a cruel destruction itself."

The New Korea Democratic Party announced that Pak

Jong Chol was subjected to water torture, violence and electric torture. These tortures were aimed at bringing him to reveal the whereabouts of his friend, a senior at Seoul University, who was in hiding. Through the struggle for exposing and condemning these facts, the tottering NKDP pulled itself together. Although it was rumoured that half of the NKDP assemblymen were suborned by the Chun Doo Hwan clique, it seemed that the party recovered its equilibrium at last. It was clear that the proposal of the NKDP for setting up a special committee for civil rights investigation in the National Assembly would not be accepted to Chun Doo Hwan and his company.

But faced with the nationwide protests, the Chun Doo Hwan horde announced that the special committee for civil rights investigation would function under the prime minister, that the police affairs would be renovated, that no one would



In defiance of the riot police's brutal suppression, the youth and students are fighting against fascism and for democracy

be taken to the police station without warrant and that when a torture case happened, the supervisor would be jointly and severally liable to punishment. What was more ridiculous than this was that the centres for receiving complaints against tortures would be opened at police stations to deal with violations of civil rights. And the Minister of Home Affairs and the Chief of the Internal Security Headquarters were replaced with new faces. The new Home Minister was Chong Ho Yong who had slaughtered citizens at the head of the combat paratroopers during the Kwangju bloodbath in 1980. He had held the post of the Army Chief of Staff until the December of 1985. And Li Yong Chang, Seoul metropolitan police bureau chief, who had been cooking up cases for incriminating people, was picked out to head the Internal Security Headquarters.

Those who have so far been stage-managing tortures are preparing for new tortures while talking to each other that if the newspapers kept silent, there would be no trouble. Even now they are shooting countless tear-gas shells and brandishing cudgels to break up meetings of memorial service. Nevertheless, they pronounce there would be no use of violence nor torture in future. Compelled by the protests of the nation, they detained the culprits who tortured people to death and escorted them in two cars together with over 20 policemen all clad alike.

Violence prevails all over the country. The case of the Pusan Welfare Home for Brothers and its mental sanatorium is raising a big scandal. Publicly they are known as the home for juvenile vagrants, but in fact, they kidnapped children and put them to forced labour. The truth was brought to light by children who escaped from there. In the past year alone, 95 children died in them. And a considerable number of dead bodies "evaporated". It is said that they were probably sold off

to hospitals for dissection. When NKDP members of the National Assembly who received a petition tried to investigate a similar institution in Taejon, its director and other violent members of the staff attacked them and obstructed their entrance into its premises. It is said that the police remained mere onlookers. On top of it, the Democratic Justice Party assemblymen in Seoul were sarcastic about it, saying that the opposition assemblymen met with such a mishap because they tried to interfere when the government was managing everything well. Violence linked up with power is rife and dominant across the country. But this also has come to its limits.

It has become the people's conviction that unless the military forces quit the scene, things will never improve. This sort of corruption and violation of human rights are perpetrated by the authorities under the name of "anti-communism" and "defence and development of liberal democracy".

Cardinal Kim Su Hwan remarked that the young people have the good reason to question if the liberal democratic system is so wicked and an irredeemably "anti-popular and anti-historical system."

"Now is the time when we should courageously get out of the state of irresponsibility and apathy in order to stop the sounds of the bell which beat hard at our conscience and pride put on the edge of the precipice and to safeguard our brothers and sisters who may die at any time as Pak Jong Chol did." This is a passage from the statement "Our View on the Case of Pak Jong Chol's Death by Torture" issued by the professors of the Hanguk Theological Seminary. This is the voice of the people. Under such circumstances, at last, the Presbyterian Church which is a conservative church made a statement in the name of its patriarch on January 21, which



Barred by the Chun Doo Hwan government's wild repression from entering the ceremonial site for the memorial service held in honour of the late Pak Jong Chol, the attendants hold the service informally on the street

repudiated the power of the Chun Doo Hwan clique as a whole. It can be safely said that this is an important change. I should like to quote a passage from it.

"From the start the Fifth Republic spilt the blood of guiltless people in Kwangju. For this reason, it has been subject to continued protests at home and abroad. The present 'government' devoid of morality, orthodoxy and administrative ability has been maintaining itself only by dint of physical force of the army and police. As a result, it is totally unable to secure the people's trust and a foothold, and is now scheming for a long stay in office by the deceptive trickery of 'constitutional revision for cabinet responsibility system.' We cannot but say that this conflicts with the aspirations of the people and is a great defiance to the God's order of creation and rule of history. As long as there exist numberless cases of suppression of human rights and inhuman barbarities such as cruelly torturing people to death, the watchword of democratization put up by the present 'government' is no more than an ostentatious trick and it cannot avoid strong denunciation from the international public. This is highly damaging to our national pride. Now it is our candid feeling that we can no

longer trust the present 'government' and hardly regard it as a democratic 'government' for the people. This is why we sincerely counsel the rulers of the present 'government' to reflect on themselves even now and repent of their sins before God and the nation."

Although very moderate, the statement nevertheless expressed a total disavowal of the power of the Chun Doo Hwan clique. Such awareness is growing stronger among the leaders of the democratization movement. The statement of the Council of the Popular Women's Movement, for instance, is high-pitched in its wording, "the government which survives by sucking the blood of the people," "the government indulging in murder and torture," "Overthrow the homicidal government by a popular revolution and convene the constituent assembly"; "Down with the homicidal mania Chun Doo Hwan." Reacting to this, the "government" branded it as an "organization with the revolutionary plans for armed uprising, overthrow of the government, establishment of a provisional revolutionary government, convocation of a constituent assembly, and founding of a democratic people's republic, which is patterned after the Bolshevik revolution". On February 3, public peace section No. 1 of the Seoul District Public Prosecutors Office announced that "there were 24 arrests and the institution of searches for 28 persons" on charges of "attempting to form a constituent assembly". Torture is indispensable for faking up this sort of case.

As long as an attempt is made to "prolong their existence" by force of violence, the political atmosphere for constitutional revision vanishes and a torture-ridden politics becomes inevitable. And the political situation of mourning in which a struggle is waged with the mobilization of the masses to mourn for the victims is sure to set in. The mourning assemblies and demonstrations sparked off by the death of

Pak Jong Chol reached their climax at the national memorial service for the late Pak Jong Chol held on February 7.

It was an all-out rally of the resistance front attended by Kim Dae Jung and Kim Young Sam, President Li Min U of the NKDP, and Cardinal Kim Su Hwan. Its preparatory committee appealed to the entire nation:

"All people are requested to attend the memorial services held in all parts of the country.

"Please take a flower to the memorial services.

"It is hoped that those who cannot attend it will wear a mourning ribbon (black or white) and pay one minute's silent tribute to the deceased at two o'clock in the afternoon of the day.

"At 2:00 p.m. of February 7, all motorcars are to sound the horn for one minute, while the bells of the churches and temples are tolled.

"Let us assemble at the Myongdong Cathedral at 2:00 p.m. of February 7 (Seoul district)."

The Chun Doo Hwan clique, labelling this assembly as "illegal" and "riotous," declared that they would check the participation in the memorial services by physical force, arrest and walk off the wearers of a mourning ribbon, and take measures in advance to prevent the hooting of motor vehicles and bell tolling of churches and temples. The Chun Doo Hwan gang made arrangements only to impede mainly the assemblies at the Myongdong Cathedral in Seoul, the Taegak Temple in Pusan and the Young Men's Christian Association buildings in Kwangju and Taegu. Over 100,000-strong police force was called out and the meeting places were blockaded tightly by surrounding them at a distance. Dissident leaders were all placed under house arrest. And the taxicab companies were forced to stop the run of their cars from 1:00 to 3:00 p.m. The work hours of other business companies were

cut down by one or two hours. Notwithstanding this, when it was 2:00 p.m. horns were sounded by private cars and buses. The students were out in demonstrations and tear shells exploded. Finding it impossible to get access to the Myongdong Cathedral, they held memorial ceremonies in the streets, singing the songs of struggle and psalms. Citizens on the sidewalks cheered the demonstrators and, when the student demonstrators were having a hard time of it due to tear shells, they distributed to them gauze masks which they had brought in cartons. At the Myongdong Cathedral some 1,000 opposition personages and Christians who had slipped in the previous night attended the requiem mass. The city of Seoul presented a scene of street fighting from midday to around eight o'clock in the evening.

It was announced by the police that as a result of the so-called "February 7 operations" 799 persons were taken to the police stations in eight cities of south Korea, of whom some forty would be detained.

Notwithstanding this, it was decided by the council of national mourning to set the period from February 9 to March 3 for performing a prayer for the abolition of tortures and for democratization. March 3 is the day of Buddhist mass which falls on the 49th day after the death of Pak Jong Chol. And in March the new academic year begins at all universities of south Korea, the first day of March is the anniversary of the March 1 Independence Movement which occurred in 1919, and April 19 is the anniversary of the April 19 revolution of 1960, and follows the Easter. In May come the memorial days of the May 16 and May 17 military coups. Then the latter half of May commemorates the resistance struggle and massacre of citizens in Kwangju in 1980. The struggle is bound to escalate on a large scale.

As a consequence of Pak Jong Chol's death, one more

memorial statue will surely be erected on the campus of the Seoul University on the day of democratization. In addition to the monument dedicated to the memory of the students who fell in the April 19 uprising of 1960, another monument will be set up in the campus on the day to commemorate dozens of times greater number of victims. Thus the campuses of the south Korean universities will remain the cradles of struggle for democratization today and in future.

THE STORY OF THE ARCHIPELAGO OF ASYLUMS

March 18, 1987

Endless Violence

Protests against the incident of the Seoul University student Pak Jong Chol's death from torture disappeared from newspapers. All meetings to mourn his death were blocked by the outrages of the riot police.

On February 22, a memorial meeting demanding an end to tortures was called by the Protestant Church. The police carried away its participants to the rubbish dump on Ranji Island or to places out of reach of bus service and threw them away like waste materials. Pak Un Suk, the elder sister of the student Pak Jong Chol, who could not attend the meeting sent a letter to the church, which says:

"I extend greetings of gratitude from the bottom of my heart to those who attended the memorial service for my Jong Chol. I shall be obliged to you if you understand my vexation at my absence from the memorial service for my one and only beloved brother.

"Ladies and gentlemen, Jong Chol who had been healthy and strong was killed in only a few hours by unimaginably cruel torture. He died at the hands of those who clamour for the realization of a 'democratic state' and 'society of justice'. Is it permissible to kill a capable man of this country, a man of talent who is to shoulder the future of this

country, in this way? Are they now reflecting on their conduct? Are they penitent for it? No, not at all. Never do they so.

“All of you, I hope you will fight on. Our Jong Chol fought unyieldingly even in face of death. I will fight, too. I will fight for the genuine democratization of this land. I pray to God to grant favour and love on you.”

The NKDP in opposition proposed to form a special investigation committee in the National Assembly with a view to banning tortures but the Chun gang turned it down.

It was decided that on March 3, on the occasion of the 49th day of Buddhist mass for Pak's death, the NKDP and the democratic forces in opposition jointly organize a “great peaceful march of the people for democratization and banishment of tortures” in Seoul and other major cities of south Korea. It was planned to hold a silent demonstration, the participants wearing a mask with the sign of cross on it.

The Chun Doo Hwan clique sent out 60,000 policemen to forestall the march and fired tear-gas shells even at the sight of only ten people. That day 439 participants were hauled off to the police station. It is the Buddhist practice to hold a memorial service for the deceased every seventh day and the 49th day service is the last one.

The NKDP fact-finding team finally made public the truth that the student Pak Jong Chol had been killed by the “shock of electric tortures.” However, the Ministry of Culture and Information sent a directive to all newspapers to “give one-column report that he died of heart failure and shock.” The Chun Doo Hwan group stated that they would take a decisive step to prevent tortures, but it is needless to say that it was an empty talk to cover up their irregularities and outrages. Tortures have only been intensified after that.

Protests continue against “faking up cases of pro-com-

munist activities'' by means of tortures. The case of the research institution for the ideas of the workers' emancipation, the case of the attempted formation of the anti-imperialist union, the case of the constituent assembly group, the case of the study of popular aesthetics, and so on got their names and were trumped up as pro-communist offences in the process of tortures. The February 24 issue of newspapers gave front-page prominence to the report that "the formation of the workers' party for national liberation is under way in an attempt to carry out the pro-north, anti-US communist revolution." It was reported that 13 persons were apprehended in this case, three of them prosecuted, and 24 others wanted. Considering the bombastic report that they schemed to start



A scene of the puppet police manhandling the arrested south Korean people including youth and students who have risen in the struggle against fascism and for democracy

a riot in accordance with the "revolutionary line for turning the south red" and, when unsuccessful, to defect to the north, it is too small a number that only three were indicted. It is also a lie that 24 people are wanted. In view of the fact that hundreds of young people have gone underground, they can cite a figure of that size at any time.

These are all cases fabricated by means of tortures to crack down on the democratization movement of the students in anticipation of the new academic year.

The three persons arrested in the "speech" incident were put to horrible tortures, which was disclosed by their families after interviewing them. In this case of "exposure of the press guideline," two former reporters are said to have been arrested. Moves for their unconditional release have started not only in the press circles of the United States and Canada but in the US Congress, said the "speech" case source.

Meanwhile, the crackdown on the more than 610 middle and high school teachers who signed the declaration on democratization of education is spread across the country. The eviction of teachers from their posts, exile and pressure on them for retracting their signatures and the like continue. This gave rise to the hunger and sit-in strikes of teachers and the sit-down struggles of high school students for interrupting the exile of their teachers. Written appeals saying, "Please send our teachers back to us" were addressed to newspaper offices. The appeals said that they strove hard in quest of the way they should go, but they had no teacher to consult. At such a moment there came a teacher who instilled courage in them. Asking why the authorities took him away from them, they appealed in tears: "We know little about ideology, anti-Americanism and the contradictory economy and establishment. We hope to learn only truth within the small world of the campus." "Pray don't banish our good teachers."

It is the reality of today that even such modest desire cannot be attained. Professors of the provincial universities are subjected to suppression such as deportation because they signed the declaration on the political situation. Repression and violence will be intensified endlessly until the victory of democratization. This is because the Chun Doo Hwan "government" which is making last-minute efforts in desperation cannot keep their head above water even for a day without recourse to violence. So, the expression "asylum archipelago" is in vogue particularly after the horrible state of affairs in the 36 asylums for tramps throughout south Korea was brought to light by the complaints of some deserters. This problem surfaced first from the "Pusan Welfare Home for Brothers" in the mid-January. At the "Songji House" in Taejon New Korea Democratic Party assemblymen who went there to confirm the truth were outraged in the presence of the police. The authorities are siding with the so-called "Welfare Home." At present the 36 asylums bearing the signboard of "Welfare Home" have a total of 12,600 and more internees, who are forcibly kept there as tramps.

The report compiled by the NKDP fact-finding team pointed out, "They have an army-like organization consisting of company and platoon, and when a man who attempted to escape is beaten to death, he is recorded as dead from a disease. The corpse is buried on the hill or in the field, or sold for medical experiment." Here is a story contained in the report which was told by a former internee.

"While working at a high school in the Incheon area, I did poultry farming on the side. In April 1983 I went to Taejon on account of business. When I was dozing in the waiting room of Taejon Railway Station at about ten o'clock on the night of the 6th, I was carried away by the staffs of the 'Songji House'. I was detained there for a year and a half. After going through

bitter experiences, I managed to escape from it and returned home. But I had already been struck off the list at the school as missing and my home was on the brink of ruin. I don't know to whom I should demand compensation for this."

Under a pseudonym, he wrote a tearful story in detail about the asylum. And it was not a "welfare home" but an internment camp for slaves. The directors of these homes are either ex-servicemen or retired policemen who once faithfully served the Chun Doo Hwan group. They exercise concealed power linked up with the corrupt authorities.

People are forcibly interned and subjected to hard labour under strict watch, so that many are dying there. It is said that the corpses are sold off to the medical departments of universities for dissection at the price of 3.5 to 5 million *won* each. This is the reality in this country which the Chun Doo Hwan clique loudly advertise as an "advanced country" and a "pattern of justice society." As pointed out in the NKDP's report, "South Korea is an archipelago of asylums."

The evil spirits that murdered countless citizens of Kwangju in 1980 are riding roughshod over this land, I should say. This situation is probably due to the politics of violence pursued by the successive rulers since the country was liberated and partitioned in 1945. It derives from the very nature of the abnormal "government" which can maintain its power only by hating, expelling and slaughtering the people as its enemies. Without a serious retrospection like this, I think it is impossible to pave the way for the democratization of the country.

We could go on endlessly if we choose to write about such cruel and tragic stories. On February 20 another young south Korean soldier belonging to a US army unit was murdered.

The Mysterious Death of Kim Yong Gwon

On February 25 the committee for countermeasure against torture and violence of the South Korean Christian Church Council issued a statement saying that it received a petition from the family of Kim Yong Gwon, a KATSUSA (a south Korean soldier belonging to a US army unit) on the register of the industrial administration department of Seoul University, which disclosed the fact that he had been suffering severe bodily and mental pains from interrogation through tortures at the security unit some time in August 1986 and on last February 20 died a questionable death. This is another shocking incident following the death from torture of Pak Jong Chol. The statement warned as follows:

“The US army command in south Korea should give an honest and sincere account regarding the cause of Kim’s death. Should they attempt to conceal the truth or cook up a lie unconvincing to the family and the nation from a political motive, an irretrievable crisis will arise between the people of south Korea and the government of the United States.”

This statement was published according to the petition dated February 24 of Pak Myong Son, mother of Kim Yong Gwon. At this the relevant officer of the Army Security Command sent a bulky document captioned “The Analysis of the Particulars about the Suicide of KATSUSA Kim Yong Gwon” to the South Korean Christian Church Council on February 27. He added in a threatening tone that anything except the facts affirmed by the army authorities was groundless rumour. That day Kim’s parents demanded the 8th US Army Commander to conduct the postmortem examination of the body in the presence of the doctor approved by the family

and the human rights organization, and posed a question about the arguments on Kim's suicide. At the same time, they demanded an investigation of Chu Bong Yop who tortured Kim on August 3 at the army security unit in Pochon north of Seoul.

Voices condemning the murderous "government" rang out. It was too natural that the people should brand the military junta as a murderer, who would kill the young people who took part in the democratization movement and throw their bodies into the sea, and then announce that they committed suicide by throwing themselves into the sea with a heavy stone fastened to their neck, or would sometimes bury their bodies in the ground and announce that they chose death of their own accord. The upper beam of the double-decked berth in the sleeping quarters where Kim was locked up was no more than 1.5 metres high. Is it possible for a man to hang himself on it? And the rope was too weak to meet this purpose and, furthermore, was so fastened as to be unable to tighten the loop. If he had really intended to kill himself, he could have taken the strong sedative which he had received at the US army hospital on the 18th. Out of 15 tablets, 13 were left untouched. And there was no note left behind, either.

So, in connection with Kim's death, it was planned to launch a struggle timed with the "great peaceful march of the people for democratization and banishment of tortures" due on March 3, the 49th day Buddhist mass for the death by torture of Pak Jong Chol. But this struggle was thwarted by over 60,000-strong riot police.

Pastors Kim Sang Gun and Kim Dong Hwan of the committee for countermeasure against torture and violence of the South Korean Christian Church Council were walked off by the police, the former on February 28, and the latter on March 3. They were sentenced to seven days' detention each.

Their issue of the written statement regarding Kim's death was condemned as an offence of spreading groundless rumours.

It appears that the Chun Doo Hwan clique wanted to prevent this incident from assuming serious proportions as with the incident of Pak Jong Chol's death from torture. So, in the first place, they apprehended the working figures to hold them in check, and sought to gag the press. Therefore, newspapers reported falsely on February 28 that the "KATSUSA's death has been confirmed as suicide." They did not mention the fact that Kim's eardrum had been ruptured due to the tortures inflicted on him at the army security unit in August last year. They only quoted the official statement that Kim was ill with neurosis and was once hospitalized due to schizophrenia. In this situation, Pak Myong Son, Kim's mother, attended the Thursday prayer meeting of the South Korean Christian Church Council and testified:

"Yong Gwon was born in 1964. He was enrolled in the industrial administration department of Seoul University in 1983. We are badly off and his father is lying in sickbed from the aftereffects of cerebral apoplexy. He has two younger brothers and a younger sister. He was enlisted in the army in 1985 and assigned to the KATSUSA unit. The sappers' work was hard and he found it too much for him. I told him that if he did not do it, some other man would have to do it, so he should endure it regarding it as a training to harden his body.

"On August 3, 1986, he went to see Chu, a distant in-law serving at the army security unit in Pochon because the latter called him. Since Chu belonged to the Army Security Command, the backbone of power, Yong Gwon thought that he intended to transfer him to some easier duty. A few days later, I met Yong Gwon near the Indian unit in Uijongbu to which he belonged. He said indignantly that Chu Bong Yop was a villain who was crazy for career. But he declined to

relate in detail why he had been called by him.

“When my son came home on a weekend leave a few days later, he said that he had undergone an operation on his ear at the 121st field hospital of the US army. He explained that his eardrum was split in a drunken fight. So, I scolded him harshly, ‘Your father ruined himself by drinking and gambling. If you are going to make trouble because of liquor, don’t come home any more.’ No matter what I said, he would not talk back to me but would readily apologize. But strangely that day he retorted that if I turned him out as I did, I would feel sorry in two or three days, and then went out slamming the door shut behind him. That fact weighed heavily on my mind.

“But my son came home the next weekend, too, and said he had undergone another operation. Because blood was caked in his ear, it had to be removed to help the eardrum to recover, and this would take three months, he said. After operation, the army surgeon told him that the eardrum was recovering well, he added. Some time later when his grandmother passed away, he came to Taegu on furlough. At that time he told his elder cousin sister the truth about his split eardrum and confessed that he was mentally uneasy and could not get to sleep after the rupture of the eardrum. The fact was that when he went to see sergeant Chu at the army security unit in Pochon on August 3, the latter asked him to do some terrible thing for him. Mentioning the needy circumstances of Yong Gwon’s family, Chu suggested that if he helped him, he would supply school expenses for his brothers and look after his family’s livelihood. He would arrange things for him to change from the military uniform into plain clothes that very day, he offered.

“Yong Gwon listened to him silently. And the moment the sergeant finished speaking, he said he would go back since his business was over and walked away towards the

gate of the barracks. Now Chu shouted at the sentry, 'Catch that fellow!' Then, Chu and several others did all sorts of violence to him in the presence of three officers. He fell unconscious. In such conditions, Yong Gwon faintly recovered his senses and thought that he should not die for the sake of his mother. He asked his cousin sister over again not to tell this to me. I was told he said, 'If mother who is suffering from a hard life hears of this, she will be shocked, and no one can tell what will happen.' But his cousin discussed the matter with her mother and informed me of the fact in detail through her mother.'

"Yong Gwon had to join up remaining as a university student on the register because we were badly off. Once as a student, he got ten days' detention on account of demonstration. Later I asked him why he didn't tell Chu clearly at the security unit that he couldn't do such a thing. To this he only asked back, 'Mother, what do you think that place is?' I heard that he was put to violence for seven hours and then returned to the KATSUSA unit at eleven in the night. My son was angry with me at heart suspecting I had asked Chu to transfer him to easier task and help in our family finances. But he felt relieved when he learned that there was nothing of the sort but that Chu's wife had told me her husband wanted to see him.

"But he suffered from an obsession, uneasiness and fear that he lost his appetite and was unable to get to sleep.

"My son was hospitalized in the psychiatric ward of a US army hospital. I called on him once a day and treated him to lavered-rice and other diets. After ten days, he was transferred to the south Korean army's metropolitan general hospital. That day I found Chu was waiting there. When Yong Gwon asked, 'What brought you here?' he shouted, 'It's because of you.' My son wanted to shout back at him loudly, 'I'm here because of you,' but he choked back the words. Two weeks

later, he was again moved to the general hospital in Taegu. With the help of an acquaintance in the military police, I barely managed to go to the hospital to see him. But my son told me that before an inpatient spent more than a month in the hospital, nobody was allowed to see him, and so if I came there so early, he felt sorry for the other inmates of the hospital. With this he shoved me out.

“On January 9, he went back to his unit. He said that he ought to return as early as possible. The reason was that his colleagues might think that he had been idling about in the hospital, although the hospital was also an unpleasant place of strict discipline. Soon the Team Spirit military exercises started. He had no appetite and, feeling uneasy, could not go to sleep. He was nervous all the time. In February, he received treatment from a Korean-American, Lieutenant Colonel Ku of the US army hospital.

“At around ten o’clock on February 18, I had a phone call from the personnel section, ‘Is Yong Gwon at home?’ asked the voice from the other end of the line.

“‘What? Isn’t he over there? Have you searched the hospital?’ I asked back.

“‘Yes, we have.’

“‘Have you looked into the register book in the hospital?’

“‘Yes, we have, but there’s not his signature.’

“It was one o’clock in the afternoon when I arrived at the Indian unit after exchanging these talks over the telephone.

“‘Was he summoned to the security unit again?’ I asked because I suspected he fell into a coma after taking an overdose of drug because of that. But later I was told that Yong Gwon hanged himself and that the first discoverer was a man from the personnel section.

“Yong Gwon had entertained a hope and had been firmly convinced that he was responsible for supporting the family. I

could not believe that he had hanged himself from the beam of the upper bed. It is 1.2 metres high, so his feet must have touched the floor. The authorities gave an unreasonable account that he bent his knees when he hanged himself. Then, later the investigator stated that the beam was 1.5 metres high, and the 'Seoul Sinmun' reported that it was 2.6 metres high. Is this not a false report?

"The first discoverer was a man from the personnel section, they gave out. But the following statement said that an American found it at 7:30, negating the earlier statement. The US and south Korean army authorities are in conspiracy with each other. I am not allowed to meet the alleged American witness.

"My family lost the main pillar. The US army unit only makes haste to hold a funeral, instead of investigating the case in earnest. I met the staff officer of the US army. It was deplorable that the Korean interpreter was untrustworthy. So, although it was unsatisfactory, I talked with the officer with the aid of a GI who knew a little Korean. The staff officer had not enough preliminary knowledge, he had not the sincerity to dig into facts in advance. They now say noncommittally that the possibility of suicide was 90 per cent and murder 10 per cent. If the corpse is not taken away by the family, he said, they will transfer it to the south Korean army unit. The south Korean army would burn the body to ashes without asking the intention of the bereaved family and hand over the ashes to them, they say.

"I am now looking for Sergeant Chu. I went to the army security unit in Pochon, but the reply I got was that there was none with such a name. My house is surrounded by many investigators. I can't see what they fear if all of what they say is true. Today I came here in a home dress pretending that I was coming to the greengrocery."

This is what Pak Myong Son said gulping down her tears. The US embassy official concerned said that she was incoherent with excitement, but she was perfectly logical. It is outrageous to try to charge her with the offence of spreading a false rumour. The things passed off as truth by the authorities are lies, while the rumours circulated by the people are truths. This is a common knowledge of the masses in south Korea. The authority is the very rumourmonger. Nevertheless, not a Cabinet minister nor an ordinary official has been accused of the crime. Is it that the utterances of people in authority are all truths and that the words spoken by the people opposed to them are all false rumours? About the present incident, my journalist friend said:

“The arrest of church personnel is probably a step they have taken for the purpose of avoiding the further pressure exerted on them to get an explanation of its truth. This case is a challenge to the denunciation of the murder of Pak Jong Chol by torture. This is as good as bragging that killing by torture or murder can be glossed over like this. This means that a man who disobeys or may expose the order of the CIA shall die. And they keep watching the moves of the human rights organizations including the churches. A fight should be fought demanding the US army to make clear the truth of the case. Although no one dare speak about it yet....”

When will it be that such things as the “south Korean archipelago of asylums” come to an end? This situation will grow further aggravated until the downfall of the Chun Doo Hwan clique. The political prisoners behind bars surpass 30,000. Their number is rapidly increasing. The US army authorities keep silent as far as possible about the case of Kim Yong Gwon. They are cautious, above all, not to excite the anti-American sentiments. As a measure for allaying the anti-American feelings, the US embassy directly publishes the

“Sisa Pyongnon” (News Review) and distributes its copies in the university campuses. The US army authorities seek to avoid strong words jarring on the students’ nerves and to watch the development of events so far as the students remain quiet.

Kim’s funeral service took place at the US army unit at about 12 o’clock on March 9. The grounds of the ceremony were surrounded by American soldiers and plainclothesmen of the south Korean army. Because the mother of the late Kim insisted stubbornly that unless people from the human rights committee attended it, there should be no funeral service, the US army side permitted, despite the opposition of the south Korean army authorities, the attendance of Rev. Pak Hyong Gyu, Professor Mun Dong Hwan and Mrs. Pak Yong Suk.

Pak Myong Son, mother of Kim Yong Gwon, will continue to fight unyieldingly in future, too. She pressed hard on the US army commander in a petition. Meanwhile, the mothers of political prisoners are fighting dauntlessly in the court. On February 25, a hearing of intermediate appeal by Kwon In Suk, the victim of sex torture, was held, at which a strong protest was voiced by the mother of a student political prisoner. For this, she was arrested on the charge of “contempt of court” and “interference with officials in the performance of their duties”. She is Mrs. Li Jung Ju, mother of Li Gi Jong, a 3rd-year student of the national language education department of Seoul University now serving a two-year term in the Kangnung prison, Kangwon Province. Angry with the prosecutor for trying to cover up the truth of the sex torture, she cried, “The prosecutor is the same scoundrel,” and hurled the cap she snatched from the escorting warder at the prosecutor and the chief judge. She spat in the face of the warder and bit his hand as he made to catch hold of her. Even after she was taken into custody, she refused to eat and

kept shouting, "The dictatorial government must resign!" and "Set free my son and daughter!" it is reported. This is an explosion of the resentments of the south Korean women. There is a saying in Korea which goes, "Women's grudge brings frost even in mid-summer." Even the Chun Doo Hwan clique will be frightened by the fierce force of their attack. These days even the newspapers lament over the "court becoming a place like the market." (The March 14 issue of the "Dong-A Ilbo") As for the trials of political prisoners, the court is always thrown into commotion because they "reject and jeer" at the judges who are at the beck and call of the Chun Doo Hwan "government" and its intelligence organizations. A severe punishment is meted out to them on the charge of "commotion in the court," but it is in vain. However, it cannot be overlooked, either. So, it gives a big headache to the judges. At the trials of political prisoners, the prosecutors feel as if they were standing on a solitary island in the far-off sea. "The accused, lawyers and audience united in a body hurl abuses at the prosecution. The judges who sit higher up can keep aloof, but the prosecutor feels as if he were standing helplessly on an isolated desert island," a prosecutor moaned. So, young judges sometimes cause troubles by passing a judgement of acquittal according to the principle of the criminal law that the judge can try the case in favour of the accused when he has doubts about the case. (The March 17 issue of the "Dong-A Ilbo") They are demoted for this, but it is presumed that such new voices of young judges will grow louder in future. It appears that they cannot endure the state of helpless isolation and the pangs of conscience. Is this not an indication that the domination of lawlessness and violence has begun to reveal its limitation?

Kim Dae Jung and Kim Young Sam

On March 6 a 24-year old young man, Pyo Jong Du, attempted to burn himself to death in front of the Sejong Culture Hall on a main street of Seoul, and breathed his last at dawn of the 8th.

He gave up a university halfway and worked at a factory before he committed suicide. According to extra of the newspaper "Hanroryon" published by the General Federation of the South Korean Christian Workers, he ran 80 metres wrapped in flames, shouting slogans, "We oppose the constitutional revision for the ministerial responsibility system!", "We oppose the long-term stay in power!" "Down with military dictatorship!" and "Punish the chief instigator of the Kwangju carnage!" before he fell down. And his two friends were dragged away by the police in Kwangju. Is there no other way than this to fight against the rule by violence? How many more cases of suicide by fire is the Chun Doo Hwan clique going to produce in the future?

Recently they advertise prosperous economic conditions on account of three low prices—a low dollar rate, low interest, and cheap petroleum. However that may be, the jobless increase and the wages do not rise. The maldistribution of wealth has come to an extreme. The slum quarters on the outskirts of Seoul are fearful with its menacing atmosphere. How will this difference between the rich and the poor burst out on the day when democratization is realized? The Chun Doo Hwan "government" has no intention at all to straighten out this situation, but is only engrossed in multiplying their wealth by illicit means. Ostensibly it looks thriving, but in fact, it is a society holding a bomb inside. Outwardly it appears

diversified, but everywhere violation is imposed. The atmosphere is suffocating.

Without heeding such a situation and the people's sentiments, they are only interested in staying in office by employing whatever tricks. Such is the politics of the Chun Doo Hwan clique. They are scattering a huge sum of money for the so-called consensual or lawful constitutional revision. Of the 274 seats of the National Assembly, the ruling Democratic Justice Party now holds 148 seats. This means that they need 36 more seats to secure over two-thirds of the seats necessary for the passage of the draft constitutional amendment. So they are carrying on the operations to win over 21 assemblymen from the National Party, remnants of the Park Jung Hee group, and 12 men of the Mass Party who had left the New Korea Democratic Party and several others from the NKDP.

It is rumoured that the National Party assemblymen were bribed by 500 million *won* each and Li Man Sop, its President, already given 2-3 billion *won*. But Li Man Sop said that should the ruling party propose the constitutional amendment alone, they would abstain from voting, and that they should have a reward of 50 billion *won* in case they collaborated. The Mass Party, too, demanded 30 billion *won* in return for its collaboration with the ruling party in the deliberation of the constitutional amendment bill. The expenses for political operations are only on the increase in the "advanced motherland" vaunted by the Chun Doo Hwan clique. But even this clique were stupefied with the fabulous amount of money demanded by the other parties. So, it is said, they are going to expend less money in their deal with the NKDP assemblymen. As for the National Party assemblymen, all of them will never be bribed into compliance. Because in the present condition of open voting, if they vote for the "constitutional amendment bill envisaging the ministerial responsibility system," they may

forfeit their political life. Anyway, it is not so easy for the Chun Doo Hwan clique to secure a two-thirds majority in the National Assembly for their constitutional amendment bill.

The newspaper "Minjung Sinmun" (No. 31, dated February 28) published by the Youth Federation of the Movement for Democracy opened to the public the specially classified document "The Preparatory Study for Peaceful Transfer of Power in 1988" which got out of the secretariat of the Blue House. This document compiled towards the close of 1984 clearly shows the real intentions and schemes of Chun Doo Hwan and his ilk. "The Objective of the Study" given in the beginning says:

"The objective of this study is that by taking every necessary measure for further strengthening the political leadership of Chun Doo Hwan, first, the peaceful change of government is smoothly ensured in 1988 and, secondly, the political ground is laid for Chun Doo Hwan to continue to play the role of leadership even after the year 1988."

This plan according to which "the Democratic Justice Party will continue in power until 2000 at least under the leadership of Chun Doo Hwan," says that "civilians in their sixties backed by insignificant forces" should be selected as dummy candidates for the President. This probably alluded to persons like Ro Sin Yong who is the Prime Minister at present. Then are they going to give Roh Tae Woo, the representative member of the the DJP, the post of the Chairman of the National Assembly, since he was Chun Doo Hwan's class-mate at the Military Academy? This "long-term office plan" also includes the "Questions of Kim Dae Jung and Kim Young Sam." When it was compiled, Kim Dae Jung was in exile in the United States. "For the political stability in the country" his home-coming is "not desirable," it said. Further, on the supposition that Kim Dae Jung will undoubtedly keep close

contacts with the Reagan Administration and that a Democratic government may be established, the plan pointed out that "It is necessary to take measures in advance." It added:

"While inducing Kim Dae Jung to slacken his anti-Revitalization activities and reduce his intentions for returning home through such operations as conciliation and persuasion, his followers should be torn away from him by means of absorbing them scatteredly into different parties, giving them seats in the National Assembly, and providing them with jobs."

The plan laid down similar operations for the "Followers" of Kim Young Sam. It said:

"Kim Young Sam will be induced to refrain from anti-government activities by such means as winning him over materially to the extent that he does not feel the pinch of hard living."

The Chun Doo Hwan forces generally keep to this line even now. In the meantime, they are pitted against the opposition parties and democratic forces while suffering from internal dissension. With regard to this, the United States told Chun Doo Hwan through Sigur, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, to refrain from further political activities after resigning from the presidential office.

On March 4, William Clark, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, visited south Korea. He had a series of contacts with Kim Dae Jung and Kim Young Sam. Roh Tae Woo of the ruling party was displeased with it and so declined to meet him. On the 6th, State Secretary Shultz stopped over at Seoul on his way back from China and stayed there for five hours. He said nothing new, remarking that the US stand was made clear by Sigur. Foreign correspondents were disappointed. In this connection, my

journalist friend commented, mixing his talks with inside stories:

“Shultz, too, supported Li Min U’s 7-point proposal for realizing democratization first. Clark asked Kim Dae Jung why he did not accept Li Min U’s formula. Ambassador Lilley said that security, north-south relations and economic development had to be taken into account as premises of democratization and that the democratization movement should not be detrimental to them.

“Shultz repeated that the form of government should be decided by the south Korean people, and that its change should be effected without violence. This probably means that if tensions increase in future, America will interfere along this line. Thus, a form of Olympic caretaker government will be created. As soon as Shultz left, President Li Min U of the New Korea Democratic Party brought up the “7 points for democratization first” again and pressed the ruling party for an answer. This time the ruling party said that it was ready to comply with it immediately. The American side asked the ruling party why it was negative when Li Min U made the same proposal on December 24 last year. The reply was capital. They feared, they said, if they accepted it immediately, Li Min U would be suspected of conspiracy with the ruling party. The underlying motive of the ruling party was that they would comply with the demand for the freedom of speech, but take a three-year plan to do so, and that they would release the political prisoners, but in some two years’ time. This will never improve the situation. Who will believe such words of Chun Doo Hwan and his company? So, the 7 points for democratization first will not head for a solution. Is this not the prologue of a scenario which has the plot that no agreement is reached but a violent clash comes at last, followed by a great compromise on the pretext of non-violence and avoiding of

bloodshed, resulting in the birth of a pro-American transitional government?

"It is rumoured that there was an interesting thing in the two-hour talks between Shultz and Chun Doo Hwan. Chun said that Kim Dae Jung was the greatest obstacle to an agreement on democratization, and asked Shultz to take him away to the United States. At this Shultz remarked that it must be preceded by the restoration of his civil rights. Chun's reply to this was that his civil rights would be restored the moment he set foot on the American soil. Of course, Kim Dae Jung is not likely to decide to go to the United States now. He has received invitations from many institutions of the United States and other countries but probably he will not go for the time being. The Chun Doo Hwan clique may presume that the Americans are also hoping that Kim Dae Jung will travel abroad for two years or so. Even in the laws of the Chun regime, there is no clause providing for the banishment of citizens from the country, although they can imprison them. If they put Kim Dae Jung in prison, the people's rage will flare up. And he will rather be looked on as a national hero who alone has the key to the ensuing situation."

Why did Li Min U bring up again his 7-point democratization first proposal which he had nullified at a talk with Kim Young Sam on January 15? Meanwhile, Assemblyman Li Chol Sung openly challenged the party's policy for direct presidential election by voicing his support for the constitutional revision for the ministerial responsibility system. When a disciplinary measure against him was discussed, hundreds of people came to Seoul from his constituency and staged a sit-in struggle at the building of the headquarters of the NKDP, it was reported. But they say there were many unidentified men among them who are said to be hirelings of the government. Then some 20 organizations in North Cholla Province issued a

statement with the heading "The Organizations Representing All Social Strata in North Cholla Province Denounce Li Chol Sung" and raised their voices, "The New Korea Democratic Party should expel Li Chol Sung at once. Let us drive Li Chol Sung out of North Cholla Province", "Dissolve the New Korea Democratic Party organization in the first district of North Cholla Province which deceives the people of the province." This seems to have daunted Li. In this situation, 70 out of the 90 NKDP assemblymen signed a declaration that if Li Min U stuck to his "democratization first" idea, they would call an extraordinary all-party congress to dissolve the party and expel President Li Min U and the other pseudo members of the party. If Li Min U withdrew his formula, they would ensure his honorable resignation at the all-party congress due in May. As the 70 assemblymen made this decision together with Kim Dae Jung and Kim Young Sam, some of the remaining 20 assemblymen, for the sake of their political life, will be obliged to join the new party to be formed by the seceders from the New Korea Democratic Party. It appeared that Kim Dae Jung's Tonggyo-dong group resolved to dissolve the NKDP and form a new party. But Kim Young Sam's Sangdo-dong group, taking the situation in hand, met Li Min U on the night of March 17, yesterday, and reached an agreement that he would not endorse the ruling party's formula of ministerial responsibility system which is a scheme to prolong the government of the military men by claiming the 7 points for democratization first. They say the Tonggyo-dong group, too, approved it. Commenting on this situation of today, my journalist friend went on:

"With Shultz's visit the US policy towards south Korea became clear. The United States does not want genuine democratization. They support Li Min U's plan, that is, constitutional revision for the parliamentary cabinet system,

restraining the demand of the opposition parties and the people. The Chun Doo Hwan clique think that but for the cooperation rendered by Kim Dae Jung and Kim Young Sam, they could summarily dispose of those opposed to this US plan as radicals, Reds and pro-communists. But they do not take account of the fact that the people will not take it lying down. They think they can manipulate the people by means of violence and mass media. On the other hand, they ought to reflect on the meaning of the fact that since Pak Jong Chol's death from torture the hard-liners and moderates of the democratization movement have come to join hands. The possibility of the participation of citizens and the mobilization of the masses is increasing largely. Kim Young Sam, too, took a resolute attitude in the recent trouble concerning Li Min U. He is also well aware that the Security Planning Board, the CIA of south Korea, is lavishing money on the campaigns to have Li Chol Sung or Li Gi Taek elected President at the coming party congress. After an interview with Kim Dae Jung in the morning of March 16, he said clearly, 'I know that the operations from outside to destroy the New Korea Democratic Party have cut into the depths of the party. We are well aware what is going on.' The union of the two Kims will no longer waver until the day of democratization. If it is shaken, the tragedy will increase."

This year, too, the people's sentiments in this country found clear expression at the graduation ceremony of Seoul University on February 26. The graduation ceremony was attended by more than 30,000 persons including the graduating students' families. As the president of the university began his speech, almost all the graduating students turned round their chairs and began singing the song, "Morning Dew."

*When grief comes on my heart
Like the morning dews more beautiful than pearl
Formed on the leaves of grass
after a long white night,
The sun rises over the hill, beaming,
Glowing red over the grave.
The broiling heat of the midday
is probably my ordeal.
I am leaving, shedding all my griefs
on that bleak wilderness.
Now I am leaving.*

When the Minister of Education began to deliver his congratulatory speech, all the graduating students rose from their seats. At this, their families gave them warm cheers. This was a protest to the president and the Minister of Education, erstwhile professors at Seoul University who were now henchmen of the authority and were trampling on the freedom of the campus. This is the scene of the graduation ceremony enacted for two consecutive years. It is an epitome of south Korean society. How are the Chun Doo Hwan clique going to hold out in this society?

The Days Full of Signs of Downfall

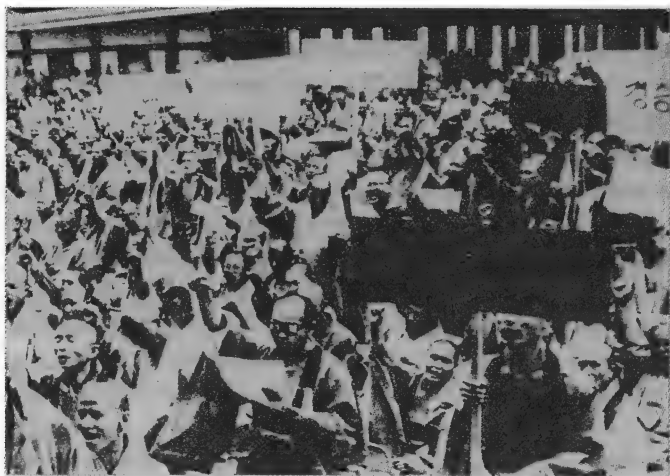
May 16, 1987

The Church Fighting with a Close Crop and Fast

Strange to say, this year (1987) the anniversary of the 1960 April 19 revolution fell on Easter Day. In the afternoon that day the Federation of the Popular Movement for Democracy and Unification held a meeting to commemorate the 27th anniversary of the April revolution at the April 19 cemetery in Suyu-ri, Seoul and 4,000 people staged a demonstration. Demonstrations were held on campuses throughout the country and students issued a joint statement. Let me quote part of it:

“At last, thanks to such a fierce and protracted struggle of our senior martyrs and people the spring of democracy came in 1980. But the great joy brought by this was short-lived.

“On May 17, 1980 the foreign forces, the source of all the evils developed in this land and the mastermind of division and massacre, egged in their interests the shameless Yushin remnants (Ex-President Park Jung Hee’s company who survived after his assassination) on to trample underfoot the 2,000-odd Kwangju people and killed them. Although at present the foreign forces talk about south-north dialogue, they intend to make the division of the Korean peninsula perpetual and chain this land to the yoke of slavery by



Men of religion in south Korea out
in the struggle against the government

manipulating the military junta to secure its long-term office for their stable interests.

“Meanwhile, under their support and aegis the military dictatorial government comes out for ‘protection of the constitution’ and works hard to carry out their scheme to ensure their long-term office. Today, on the occasion of the 27th anniversary of the April 19 revolution whose spirit is still alive in a fast-changing situation, we should take over the spirit of our senior martyrs who were at the forefront of the struggle for national salvation and come to a definite decision to save the nation.” (From the “Joint Statement of Young Students on the Occasion of the 27th Anniversary of the April 19” which was issued by 34 universities and colleges in the Seoul area including Seoul University)

This statement used the date of the "42nd year of national division". And it carried the slogans such as, "Syngman Rhee was driven out. Let's kick out Chun Doo Hwan, too," "Yankees who back up the military dictatorship, get away". The statement of the "patriotic democratic-minded students", too, used the date of "April 19 of the 42nd year of national division". Many statements and slogans issued by Christians were similar to these in contents but they used the date of 1987.

It can be said that the statement issued by the Youth Federation for Democratization Movement under the title, "Revive, the Warm-blooded Minds of the April Revolution," most clearly showed the spirit of the struggle in May. The statement wrote that the spirit of the April 1960 revolution was succeeded by the Kwangju resistance in 1980 and what we should learn from these two struggles was that we should have a correct idea of the real intentions of the United States and form a solid organization involving the forces of the people. Further, it pointed out that we should form the "allied front" on the largest scale with a new party, namely, a party such as the Reunification Democratic Party.

Thus the struggles of the Reunification Democratic Party, students on the campus, the Protestant and Catholic churches, professors and intellectuals started simultaneously. First of all, let me deal with the struggle of Christianity and intellectuals.

As for the democratic forces related to Christianity all their institutions immediately issued a statement in succession as a show of protest against the so-called April 13 "statement aimed at protecting the constitution". And in late April sit-in with fasting and indefinite hunger strike were launched throughout the country.

Generally speaking, Catholic priests first went on a

hunger strike for indefinite period and it spread to Protestant ministers. The number of the Catholic priests who had participated in the hunger strike amounted to 300. Protestants chose to stage a short-term sit-in hunger strike and its participants perhaps numbered several thousand. They had their hair cropped closely as a show of their resistance. This movement spread among the students across the country. In the process of this struggle many statements, declarations and messages were made public. On the occasion of Easter Cardinal Kim Su Hwan of the Catholic church sent a letter the gist of which was that "A worthwhile life of the people should be made to blossom on this land, too". Concerning the present situation the cardinal said:

"There exist the nation, but they have no sovereignty; there is mass media, however there is no freedom of speech; the National Assembly and political parties exist only in name. We are now living in a vacuum devoid of politics. ... to the last moment we expected that the ruler would make an open-minded decision.

"But the 'decision' he made in agonies plunged the nation into sorrow and hatred.

"Tear bombs are bursting again on this land ceaselessly, bringing tears to the eyes and minds of the nation."

On May 4 Bishop Yun Gong Hui of the Catholic Kwangju diocese held the "service for justice and peace" along with the Catholic priests on a hunger strike.

There he made adequate comment on the pressing matters in the current situation. He said: "The painful fast is the food awakening the people from sleep", "The present government will find itself in a finer fix without democratization and the constitutional revision," "The April 13 decision was made arbitrarily by the rulers in disregard of the will of the nation", "The 88 Olympic Games amidst violation of human

rights and big business scandals is a disgrace to the nation," "Democratization of Korea is possible when the military leave politics alone," "Sacrifice, prayer and practice of justice will be continued until democracy is effected."

Let me quote part of his remarks on the crackdown on youth and students:

"When for the sake of the party interest and strategy the 'authorities' take as enemy the generation who will shoulder the future of the country, they cannot have their legitimacy recognized in the face of the historic trend of democratization and national reunification. In this light fabrication of pro-communist cases is an important matter for the present 'authorities' to repent and straighten out."

Almost all the statements on a hunger strike issued by the Protestants said: "The United States should not hamper the aspiration for the democratization of the south Korean people." When 27 priests in the Kwangju parish in South Cholla Province offered hunger prayer, they sent out a written sermon on May 3, Sunday, which stated that the April 13 statement was a war declaration on the nation. It went on to say:

"Now the seventh day has come when all the people should launch this struggle.

"We think that things will go as prescribed in the Bible. Chun Doo Hwan has been in office for six years and this year is the 7th year of his term of office. We believe this year will witness the amazing historic event of the seventh day like the collapse of the Jericho walls."

Resistance accompanied with this confidence, sharp public criticism on the government, indefinite hunger strike, close crop as a show of protest and fast prayer, demonstration and assault with bottle grenades at times—these are spread-
ing across the country like wildfire.

My journalist friend said:

"Lilley US ambassador in south Korea went to America. As the 7-point priority programme for democratization first and the plan for coalition with conservative forces fell through, he will return with a new plan. I wonder if they had some idea of the democratic forces that cannot be so simply manipulated by their plan as they did before. The present situation is such that the policeman who had resigned, taking the blame for murdering Pak Jong Chol by torture has been put back to a higher post. Enterprises are forced to give carte blanche as to the check donated in the name of the political campaign contribution. Chun Doo Hwan is said to have been directly involved in this. They say money is needed to administer politics. I wonder if he collects money to remain in power longer. I rather suppose that he needs it for flight from the country.

"Money more than 10 billion dollars of Marcos will flow into America."

The priests who had been staging a hunger strike having their hair cropped closely gathered in Seoul and on the evening of May 12 held "an all-night prayer meeting for the country" with 1,300 attending in a church near the Sodae Gate.

The prayer meeting was sponsored by the National Council of the Christian Church.

More than 1,000 riot policemen and plainclothesmen used violence toward this meeting. They tried to prevent people from entering the church for prayer. When the emaciated priests who had been fasting having their hair closely cropped tried to enter the church, they beat them down with billy clubs and shouted at them:

"You bastards! How much are you paid a day for this? Beat all the priests to death." Loading them into the riot vans,

they trampled them underfoot, carried them 30 km away from Seoul and threw them away there.

On the way they beat and abused them: "Bastards, you do such a thing because you are well fed. Sham priests, national traitors, sons of a bitch, call me elder brother. Do that."

A journalist of the newspaper "Dong-A Ilbo" was also arrested and suffered such violence. The outrage gave them a great shock. A large number of priests had to be sent to hospital. The Chun Doo Hwan clique is revealing their intentions day by day. The next day the National Council of the Christian Church issued a written protest, which read in part:

"This is nothing less than an outrage which reveals the brutal nature of the present government which came into power by committing the Kwangju massacre and has practised sex torture and water torture so far. All those present here who are determined to make sacrifices before the altar of history for the democratization of this land, reaffirm that the present government should not be allowed to exist on this land and demand with indignation:

"First, the 'authorities' should punish at once chief of the Sodaemun Police Station and other persons who instigated the outrage on the spot and those who did violence to the clergymen on May 12;

"Secondly, Minister of Home Affairs Chong Ho Yong, National Police Director and chief of the Municipal Police Bureau should be dismissed at once;

"Thirdly, the 'authorities' should make an official apology for the outrage against the clergymen and indemnify all the damages including hospital fees for the injured."

The Struggle of Intellectuals and Resistance of the Poor

"Our Views on the Question of Constitutional Amendment"

"We were greatly shocked at the decision on the suspension of efforts for constitutional amendment made public as an 'important resolution' on April 13.

"At this juncture we believe that the democratic revision of the constitution is the most important historic task of our nation. Here we stand at the crucial crossroads of whether we can pave the way for a bright future of our national history or not. The establishment of a government resting on a broad support of the nation is an absolute demand of history which no one can deny. Therefore, considering that keeping silence is tantamount to the abandonment of our national duty, we clearly expound our views.

"1. We consider that the reason announced by the government for suspending its efforts for constitutional amendment will not go down with the nation. A government that gives up the historic cause of the nation for the reason of its difficulty cannot be regarded as a responsible government.

"2. The responsibility for pushing forward constitutional amendment falls on the people in charge of the administration of the government before anyone else. The government should continue with its efforts for constitutional revision together with all sections and all political forces of our society.

"3. The government and the statesmen should continue their dialogue with the nation in any case and drop all attempts to block the discussions of the nation for constitutional amendment.

"4. If a democratic revision of the constitution is not achieved this time, the government and all the nation will suffer an intolerable pain in the future because our society has poor political orthodoxy.

"5. We want the government to depart from its previous line of high-handed oppression and hopelessness and follow the high way of politics which will inspire the nation with hope.

"Convinced that our views and anxiety concur with those of all the people who are concerned about the future of the nation, we urge all the persons concerned to think over the matter carefully and all the people to clarify the great cause of the nation according to their conviction."

This is the statement of 30 professors of Koryo University published on April 22. Following this, 1,439 professors across the country signed their names against the "April 13 statement" by May 14, and demanded constitutional amendment and democratization. The university professors all over the country are nearly 10,000, but the number of signers is unprecedentedly great. This movement will grow further. The signers are mainly young professors, and those professors who had a bitter experience before for signing their names were excluded as far as possible, it is said.

On April 29, "The Views of 206 Literary Men concerning the April 13 Measure" was published. Soon the number increased to 223. Let me quote a few passages from it.

"We, the literary men, judge that the unilateral announcement of suspension of the work for constitutional amendment made by the present government recently runs counter to the

aspirations of the masses of the people and the great cause of the nation.

“At the present crossroads decisive of the nation’s future, we, the men of letters, pledge ourselves to fight on together with the people for democratization and reunification. At the same time, we solemnly urge the present government to take a great decision to resume the work of constitutional amendment in conformity with the intentions of the masses of the people and the noble cause of the nation. And we wholeheartedly ask all the people to make their best efforts for constitutional amendment and, through it, the realization of democratization with a stronger will.”

58 middle and high school teachers who had been fired on the ground of issuing the “Declaration on the Democratization of Education” on May 10 last year, too, published a statement entitled “We Demand the Renouncement of the Protection of the Constitution and Its Democratic Amendment.” Further, painters, art critics, photographers, cartoonists, plastic artists, stage actors, producers, playwrights and film actors made a protest and resisted in groups. The prime movers were walked off and arrested in succession. But these nationwide moves cannot be suppressed, the South Korean Federation of Trade Unions controlled by the government announced its support of “The April 13 statement.” It did so because it was forced to do so by the Chun Doo Hwan clique. However, the trade union of financial workers including bank clerks took up a stance of opposition to the declaration making it clear that they could not approve it formally, it is reported.

On May 4 the Oriental philosopher Kim Yong Ok who had resigned Koryo University last April went on a hunger strike at last for an indefinite period. Criticizing Chun Doo Hwan’s “monarchical” illusion, he wrote in the declaration on his

hunger strike, "Our winter is long. But spring is sure to come. However desperately one may try to check it, what is to come will come in the end. How should we fear bayonets?" The situation is such that we may say the intellectuals have risen to action in full force. The South Korean Bar Association is also assuming a firm posture of resistance.

Speaking of the intellectuals' struggle, we must mention two more facts here. One is that "the National Prisoners' Struggle Committee of the Movement for the Democratization of Prisons" was organized and Rev. Mun Ik Hwan, chairman of the Federation of the Popular Movement for Democracy and Unification now in prison, was elected its chairman. The statement with the title of "We Clarify Our Stance" published on May 14 contains four points. They are:

"First, we regard the 'important resolution' of Chun Doo Hwan published on April 13 as a manifestation of the predetermined plot for his long-term office and define it as an outrageous act for crushing the aspirations of all nation for democratization. The present political conditions should be apparently looked upon as a coup d'état without martial law. The plot for a long-term office by brute force will not be able to escape the judgement of the people.

"Secondly, we conclude that the suppression of democrats, students and workers, perpetrated by now and the concoction of 'pro-communist offenses and acts of benefiting the enemy' are precisely aimed at the 'protection of the constitution' and 'long-term office'. We declare that the 'pro-communist' fabrications produced wantonly by anti-national conspiracies are nothing but lies and that all the trials which justified them are null and void.

"Thirdly, the United States that supports the military junta and countenances the long-term office is an accomplice

that helped in bringing about today's political situation. We strongly demand that America should no longer bolster up the military junta. In future our people will demonstrate greater indignation and further strengthen the struggle against the United States as against the military junta.

"Fourthly, we appeal to all the democratic forces to do their utmost to crush the conspiracy of the military junta to stay on in office, and hope that for this purpose, they will advance in firm unity by overcoming abstract disputes and minor differences."

The other is the "Open Letter for Campus Democracy" of Professor Yun Yong whose poem I introduced to the readers once published on May 7. He signed the statement of the professors of Koryo University recently. The open letter was addressed "To President Pak Bong Sik of Seoul University." It said:

"Because I cannot hold back my feeling of contempt for the personality of President Pak who recently denounced the declaration on the current situation published by 122 professors of Seoul University as 'regrettable', I have chosen the pretended president called 'Pak Bong Sik' as the major target in my 'Open Letter for Campus Democracy'.

"President Pak, you expressed your 'regret' for the declaration on the current situation issued by the professors of Seoul University on April 11 last year, too, so that you greatly disappointed us. While behaving yourself like that, how can you hold the office of president of the most renowned university of this country so boldly? I cannot but deplore this miserable reality.

"Far from 'supporting' this praiseworthy action in which 122 professors from some 43 departments signed their names in perfect unison, among them all the professors of the history and philosophy departments, you expressed your 'regret',

reversing the real position. Now Mr. Pak, have you got a conscience?

"The moment you mounted the platform at every graduation ceremony, the graduating students would turn their back and leave their seats. In spite of such an insult to your personality you still hold on to your post. Please inquire into human history to find another university president like you. As many university presidents of the present times, so you, president Pak Bong Sik, are already no more than a dummy. And because of you how much is our sanctuary of learning defiled and disgraced? Pray don't use the university any longer as a means of attaining your vain honour and social success without regard to such great sacrifices.

"It seems our patience has reached its limits. I ask you to leave the campus of the great Seoul University at the foot of Mt. Kwanak before it is too late."

Rule by brute force is prevailing in the whole country. The same is the case with universities, local administration and enterprises. In 13 districts such as Sanggye-dong and Yangpyong-dong in the suburbs of Seoul, the slum quarters have been forcibly evacuated in the name of redevelopment. Those who opposed were beaten, walked off and put into prison.

The existence of 3.5 million urban paupers is at stake. Since the announcement of the "April 13 statement", the tendency of using force in the evacuation of slums has become more undisguised. Even large force of riot police has been mobilized for the purpose. After the clearance of slum quarters, high-rise apartment houses will be built. Those in power and enterprises in conspiracy make enormous profits in the name of redevelopment and city beautification.

So, the slum dwellers are awakening politically to the truth that such outrages cannot be eliminated without democratization.

On April 14 there were big clashes in Sanggye-dong and Yangpyong-dong and many people were injured. Some 3,700 persons including riot police, terrorists and clearance teams were mobilized. Hundreds of delegates assembled at the Myongdong Cathedral because the Catholic Church was deeply interested in the matter. On April 30 the riot police made an assault on the people who were coming out after the prayer meeting, and many people were wounded or fell unconscious. And on May 4 children who were playing around the wrecked houses were pressed under falling walls, and three were severely injured and one dead. The police feared that this incident might touch off a strong resistance, and snatched away the corpse of the 9-year-old O Dong Gun.

On the evening of May 6 a prayer meeting was held at the Myongdong Cathedral in memory of the dead O Dong Gun and in denunciation of the police who took away the corpse. When 300 attendants were standing in confrontation with the riot police after the meeting, Ra Byong Nam who climbed up a 7-metre-high tree at the entrance of the cathedral scattered handbills and threw himself down to the parking lot 15 metres below, shouting, "Let's overthrow the military dictatorship." He was a 30-year-old worker employed at the Hyundai Heavy Industry Corporation. Now in hospital, he is in a critical condition. His handbills read: "Let us put an end to the military dictatorship and realize democratic politics. People, answer. Silence is a crime," "Let us overthrow the homicidal government and set up a democratic government," "Let us oust the murderous government and relieve the democrats." He left a suicide note, which says:

"Dear Mother and Father,

"Please pardon this unfilial son. I pray you will enjoy a

long life and good health in happiness.

“Dear brothers and sisters, I wish you happiness and a long life in good health. My kind friends, I hope you will attain your desires....”

“Whose land is this? Is this a land of the dictators and their sycophants? A land of the rich who amassed wealth illicitly? Or is it the land of the people with no property but their own bodies? Answer, frozen land of tundra! You helped to put numberless people into prison for the extension of the ‘government’, assisted in the irregularities and corruption, shut your eyes to the thugs who indulge in terrorism in broad daylight, shielded the terroristic police who continue with murderous tortures, trampled underfoot the populace who eke out a bare existence and blew up the thatched huts on the pretext of the Olympic Games.... Earthly paradise, the Chun Doo Hwan kingdom? Are you descendants of First Emperor of Chin who is said to have searched for and eaten a herb of eternal youth or Nazism incarnates? Dictator, do you know the earnest desire of the people? Do you know the blood boiling cries of the masses? Wake up, Dictator. Though a humble, negligible being, I warn you. I punish you with my death.”

A man with a sensitive conscience is unable to withstand this age of violence. At first, he must have been indignant. Then, perhaps, he made desperate efforts to forget and shut his eyes at everything. But he felt unbearable nausea. He resisted, but could not budge an inch in a ring of the riot police. He tried once more to forget, but could endure no more.

He hated this age and made up his mind to die. He sought for peace in death. However, that was impossible. When he decided to die, he probably chose the death of resistance, a death to challenge the silence of the people. He threw himself down shouldering the misfortune of this nation. He wanted to

convey his message to the people. But the south Korean media were gagged and could not say a word about it.

The Founding of the Reunification Democratic Party in Rough Going

The "Kiroryon Sinmun" (newspaper of the Federation of Christian Trade Unions) reported that the labour movement is brisk. In the provinces taxi drivers turn out in street demonstrations. Workers in many factories are fighting for higher wages. New moves are in evidence in spite of the outrages of brute force and obstructive acts of the government-patronized unions. Even at the Taeu Shipbuilding Yard on Koje Island in the South Sea, the "struggle for the formation of a trade union" has started. At the Taehan Shipbuilding Company the committee for the promotion of normal functioning of the trade union has been formed and demands higher wages. It exposes the irregularities of the government-patronized trade union. When will it be that such movement of the workers grows strong enough to kick out the Chun Doo Hwan clique? After all, it will be at a time when the streets of Seoul overflow with large crowds of citizens, students and workers, and the US plan for a coup d'etat and the massacre of citizens by army troops are made impossible.

Before writing about the difficulty in the founding of the Reunification Democratic Party, let me report two facts which clearly show the situation in south Korea. On May 4, "A Petition to the Professors and Students of Koryo University" was made public in the name of all members of the committee for the promotion of transfer of tenant paddies of the Samyang Salt-Making Company. The content of the petition was denunciation against the Samyang financial group which

is behind Koryo University and the newspaper "Dong-A Ilbo" and against Kim Sang Hyop who is the Honorary President of Koryo University and the current President of the South Korean Red Cross Society who held the honoured post of prime minister in the Cabinet of both the Park Jung Hee and Chun Doo Hwan governments.

The father of Kim Sang Hyop amassed a fortune while serving as an honorary consul-general in Manchuria and a member of the Kyonggi provincial assembly under Japanese rule. He was a pro-Japanese element who ran the Kyongsong Textile Company and others. His enterprise developed into the Samyang financial group after liberation in 1945. In the 1930's he got a subsidy of 380,000 *yen* from the Government-General and carried out the reclamation of tideland in Kochang County, North Cholla Province. Thus, he acquired 681 hectares of land which was bequeathed to Kim Sang Hyop. At present 597 tenant farmers are cultivating it. At the time of land reform after liberation he changed the name of the land into saltern and others by using his power and maintained its ownership. Nevertheless, the farmers were unable to resist. At present, the farmers are staging a move-



Wrapped up in the Star-Spangled Banner, Chun Doo Hwan and Roh Tae Woo are burnt in effigy by the youth and students who have turned out in the anti-US and anti-government struggle

ment for nonpayment of farm rents under the support of the Catholic Farmers' Association.

The dispute is expected to be taken to court. So, they call upon the professors and students of Koryo University to give unreserved support to their struggle if only for the sake of their university's honour. And they question why the newspaper "Dong-A Ilbo" does not report about the matter but keeps silence.

The other is the Pan Ocean Shipping case. On April 19 Chairman Pak Gon Sok of the Pan Ocean Shipping Group committed suicide by throwing himself down from the tenth floor of a building. It is said that he killed himself in agony, unable to pay back the debt of a trillion *won* due to business depression. But a rumour began to say that his death was largely due to the trouble with President Han Sang Yon. It has been made public that the amount of their foreign currency flight is 18,000,000 dollars. Owing to this, Mr. Han had been arrested.

This is not all. If rumours are added to the press reports, the story swells greatly in dimensions. The Chun Doo Hwan clique sought to divest this group of some of its thriving enterprises. So, an enormous amount of money had to be paid to them as a bribe. Pak Gon Sok is an elder brother of Pak Dong Son, the author of the bribery case in which the US political circles were involved to cause a great sensation under the rule of Park Jung Hee in 1976.

Various intrigues lie behind this incident. After assuming the presidency of the company, Han Sang Yon planned to expel Chairman Pak in league with the Chun Doo Hwan clique in an attempt to take possession of the group. It appears that tens or hundreds of billion *won* of money was expended secretly behind the scenes. The public prosecution alluded to a part of the expenditure at first, but immediately announced

that they would raise no point about the government officials connected with it. The Tax Administration Agency suddenly sent out over 100 examiners at a time to investigate all quarters concerned. This way of doing things suggested that it was an operation of the Chun Doo Hwan clique to seize hold of the group.

Moreover, by creating big news in this uneasy time, they tried to fix the eyes of the people on it. Occasionally they have to usurp the attention of the nation with a big incident like this. But the people only remain in blank surprise at one more of so many big scandals, cases of irregularity in which enterprises and the authority are involved. The big businesses take abroad the wealth of the nation earned by the people in the sweat of their brow and those in power suck up far more than that. Hence the names of secret-chamber economy and secret-chamber politics. In such conditions Chairman Pak is driven into death and his enterprise falls into the hands of man of power. Someone may possibly thrust him down from the building. While the power holder takes possession of stupendous wealth, the bill for it comes round to the people.

It seems that the pressure brought to bear on the enterprises by the Chun Doo Hwan clique is further increasing. They make the Tax Administration Agency send out a great number of investigators and discover some weak points of enterprises. The enterprises will not get off with additional tax payment to the agency. They find themselves at the crossroads of survival or ruin. For instance, if the banks only stop furnishing funds to them, they break immediately. So, when they come to terms with the authority, Chun Doo Hwan himself meets the enterprisers individually and demands funds. This cannot be turned down. Money is necessary for politics, he says. But in fact, he is probably preparing funds in case he should seek refuge abroad. He is prepared

for political reprisals which will come after the change of government. So this is the last-stage plunder. In resorting to violence and plunder, there is no longer an appearance-saving gesture, hesitation or the like. They conduct tortures not in secret, but award the policemen who killed people in torture.

This attitude of the Chun Doo Hwan clique became naked in the process of founding the Reunification Democratic Party. Putting Kim Dae Jung under house arrest, they promised at first to permit the reporters to have access to him, but prohibited it. 74 assemblymen of the New Korea Democratic Party were determined to join the new party, but the Chun Doo Hwan clique threatened them by bringing all sorts of their scandals concerning matters of money, business and women against them. They went so far as to bring a charge against them and pass a sentence on them by finding fault with their political utterances. By so doing they plan to tear away some 20 persons from the number, it is said. As a result, today 68 assemblymen are in the new party, the Reunification Democratic Party, or the Democratic Party.

From April 13 the Chun Doo Hwan clique sent their thugs into the meeting halls of inaugural congresses of the regional organizations of the Democratic Party. By May 1 the regional party congresses were held in 48 areas, 21 of which were raided by terrorists, resulting in many cases of injuries. Even newspapers wrote, "Inaugural meetings of the new party assaulted in broad daylight, and the political situation is tense." They carried a photograph of a group of over 100 men armed with sticks rushing along the street. According to the report of the Democratic Party, in Kimchon, North Kyongsang Province, an incident occurred in which 3,000 citizens "gathered and denounced the raiders... and the citizens and party members dragged out the terrorists" and turned them

over to the police. It is reported that moving from one place to another, they stormed the buildings of regional organizations of the Democratic Party for a daily pay of 50,000 *won*. Sometimes these hooligans numbered over 200. Among them were those who had occupied the building of the New Korea Democratic Party when the party was in a chaotic condition in early April. The attitude of the police to this hooliganism gives us an idea how much help the police gave them.

Informed of the incident at the time, the police said that since it was an internal affair of the party, they had better meet each other halfway. The policemen who appeared on the scene asked the hooligans who were occupying the meeting hall, "Is there anything wrong in there?" The gangsters replied, "Nothing." Then, they returned. When the policemen were asked to turn out, they refused to respond to the request, pleading, "We have not yet received a report about it", or "We have no orders from above."

As the news media strongly denounced such "daytime violence" and an adverse influence was exerted on the public sentiments, the police was obliged to declare in late April that they would get down to the investigation of the acts of violence. They said that 30 persons were arrested and so on, but it is as clear as day that they will smother up the case quietly before long. There were even instances that Catholic churches were hired for holding regional party congresses because no building was available for the purpose. No meeting place was offered for the all-party congress, but following the protests of the people, the congress was opened at the auditorium of the Hungsa-dan in Chongno District on May 1. Ordinary citizens were kept away from the venue of the congress by 3,000 policemen under the pretext of guarding the place. Only 701 delegates and pressmen were admitted. Even now the Democratic Party cannot rent a building to

use as the office of the party headquarters. It is also hard pressed for its working funds. Let me quote a few paragraphs from official documents of the party:

"We found the Reunification Democratic Party here in order to win democracy which has disappeared under the tyranny of the military dictatorship, to free the nation from oppression and terror and, further, to accomplish the brilliant cause of national reunification. We abhor military dictatorship and solemnly declare before the nation and history to achieve democratization and reunification in a clear attitude in firm unity with all the people who lament the national division, estranged under the shadow of growth and barred from speaking and writing about the truth." (The first part of the "Declaration on the Foundation of the Party" adopted at the National Congress of Delegates for Founding the Reunification Democratic Party on May 1.)

"Today marks clearly a new age of struggle for democratization in this country. We have completely and resolutely repudiated the dictatorial political plan and work of the present government and won the founding of the 'Reunification Democratic Party' as a valuable fruition of the struggle for democratization. We can say now with confidence that this is the way we have fought. Only now our people will come to have a party for the people that will truly carry their intentions through to the end to work off their pent-up anger. Sharing such emotions with you, comrades party members and the people, I solemnly vow that I will discharge the duties of the President in the attitude of giving the fruits of honour to the people and taking on the adversity of difficulties for myself.

"But we should face up to the reality in which Chairman Kim Dae Jung, the leader of democracy, who should be present here with us today amidst your acclamations is shut

up in his house. Prior to congratulating the founding of the Party today, we must renew our determination to wage an unyielding struggle in the face of great adversities.”

“When we decided to found the party, the present government published the so-called April 13 measures. What, then, are the April 13 measures?

“It is nothing but a coup carried out by the present government against the unanimous will of the people by returning to the current anti-democratic Presidential system in a great self-contradiction in spite of the fact that in the past year it abused the President-centred system as one that would push the country into ruin and advertised as if the ministerial responsibility system alone could save the difficult situation by mobilizing all propaganda media. Further, as Cardinal Kim Su Hwan pointed out, it is not an ‘agonizing resolution’ but heralds the advent of a despotic age far from democratization in politics and signifies ‘the beginning of a time when tear-gas bombs will ceaselessly explode in this land and not a day will pass without the people shedding tears from their eyes and from the depths of their minds.’”

“We clearly saw with our own eyes how the Yushin (revitalized) government devoid of orthodoxy met its end. When the Yushin system ended with the October 26 incident, the voices ‘Revitalization is the only way for existence’ vanished into thin air. We know well through our unforgettable experiences how miserably political power without orthodoxy was repudiated by history and the people and collapsed. As did the Yushin system, so the so-called April 13 measures will do nothing else than stimulating the disavowal of and resistance to the government without orthodoxy by history and the people and finally paving the way for its tragic end. I firmly believe it.”

“Chun Doo Hwan said that he wanted to be remembered

as the first President who effected the peaceful change of government, but if he continues on his present way, he will leave behind a disgraceful record as the only president in the political history of south Korea who betrayed the nation's ardent desire for constitutional revision twice by the May 17 coup d'état and the so-called April 13 measures."

"We have a sore throat crying for democracy to this government. Our cries for democratization will be sufficient enough to resound across the mountains and rivers of this country as an echo of the people's resentments. For the 1988 Olympic Games to be a festival for our people, our nation and the peoples of the world, it is essential before anything else to achieve democratization and concord within our nation. If it is an Olympiad for the self-advertisement of the dictatorial power and for which the people are forcibly mobilized by the authority, it will be nothing but a reproduction today of the Berlin Olympics of 1936 under Nazi rule."

"I give you my word, comrades, that I will cooperate with Chairman Kim Dae Jung not only until the realization of democratization but also even after that. Today I rejoice together with you in the resolution, efforts and tearful victory of all our members who have put up the flag of the Reunification Democratic Party on this land despite all manner of persecution.

"We are now determined to do our best to fulfil our role and mission in the great stream of the history of the world and our nation and democratization. We, the comrades are united as brothers. We are vanguards of this nation and this people who are up in resistance in defiance of the evil hands and despotic oppression of the dictatorial power. Heading the historical march through ordeals, we pledge ourselves at this place that when our posterity wish to attain democratization, reconciliation, national union and reunification, we will be the

rays and salt of their struggle, its means. We shall have to advance along the road of upright fighters who are serene, strong, magnanimous, kind, always modest, persevering, and true to principle.

“Our party’s inaugural congress of today is the occasion of sacred oath for us to take up such an attitude and posture together with our democratic people. Let us endeavour to bear ourselves always nobly and in a dignified manner and to make our party lucid and cheerful. Thus we shall win victory in the end. Thank you.” (From the inaugural address of President Kim Young Sam.)

“We have risen in indignation and united again under the banner of the Reunification Democratic Party in order to usher in a new epoch in the struggle for national reunification and democratization which are the supreme tasks of the nation in the history of our democratic government marked by vicissitudes and lameness, and to consolidate its structure as a legally authorized political party.” (The first part of the prelude to the “Constitution and Rules” of the Reunification Democratic Party.)

The Democratic Party was born in a grim atmosphere marked by demonstrations, hunger strikes for an indefinite period and close crop and fasting. The aim of these struggles is identified with that of the Democratic Party. Is it that the Democratic Party assumes the role of a revolutionary party? The lessons drawn from the prolonged struggle for democratization are evident in all aspects of the movement. The Democratic Party is conservative and realistic, and yet it is progressive. The young people who are regarded as radical, too, support it. It may well be said that the joint struggle of Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung is also based on the lessons furnished by their long painful experiences. We may say that it is the first of its kind in the political history of south Korea.

The Democratic Justice Party in power began to accuse the Democratic Party of contemplating the "wresting of the reins of government," of claiming that the current presidential election cannot be called an election, of observing that "The Berlin Olympics held under Nazi rule is going to be reproduced today," of stating that "It recognizes national reunification as the foremost task of national history standing above in its political programme and policy, and what not." The Democratic Justice Party said they intended to proceed against Kim Young Sam on charges of desecrating the state and did so much as hint at the dissolution of the Democratic Party. But it appeared to have thought that it was impossible to do so at the present moment, they lowered the pitch and said that they would investigate those who participated in the drafting of the political programme and policy of the party. But the Democratic Party takes a tough stand that they will not submit to any sort of investigation. Let me wind up my report of today by introducing the comment of my journalist friend on these developments.

"How will the military and the United States move! A retired colonel receives a pension of 300,000 *won* a month. A hundred out of 430 graduates of the Military Academy are sent abroad for study. This is aimed at enabling army men to occupy important posts at universities. These 100 persons are made 3rd-grade civil servants who are treated on the same footing with those who passed the higher administrative service examination. Could they ever renounce such benefits accruing from this corrupt military system under which soldiers and ex-soldiers rule the roost everywhere? The United States has so far failed in its operations and discredited itself. The Reagan Administration is busy with the Iran Gate incident and the preparations for election. In this situation what can America do in its operations towards south Korea? The

Congressman Solarz paid a visit to Kim Dae Jung, and a public hearing on south Korea was held in the US House of Representatives. It reproves the April 13 statement and gives an advice to resume the dialogue with the Democratic Party. However, the people have little faith in the attitudes of the United States. This is because they were deceived too many times. The two Kims have very high popularity. Kim Dae Jung is shut up in his house like that sometimes by mobilizing 1,000 policemen, and then his popularity rises still higher. For all that, the Chun Doo Hwan clique believe that this would be rather better than that he carries on political activities at present. The students put up the mass line successfully. These days they refrain from using radical language. 15,000 students of Pusan University were mobilized. The President of Kyongbuk University in Taegu resigned as a result of the struggle of the students in regard to the intramural affairs. The Ministry of Education is alarmed that the university authorities began to be forced out by the students. The students applaud Kim Young Sam's remarks in his inaugural address about national reunification and his comparison of the 1988 Olympics with the Berlin Olympiad under Nazi rule. If a democratic government is established, the students will come to support a moderate and realistic line. Great forces comprising the democratic forces in opposition centring around the Christians will be formed. They will include even the Buddhists. Because unlike in the past, all the nation is on the move. The Chun Doo Hwan clique have no means other than violence to cope with this situation. It is said that they are taking steps to make it possible to hurl unlimited numbers of policemen into the National Assembly hall, too. In early May when demonstrations were staged, there were cases of incendiarism at Choson University in Kwangju and Hanyang University in Seoul, it was reported. And it has now become

evident that they were caused by the Chun Doo Hwan clique. They were intended to injure the dignity of the students and weaken their power of mobilization. In future too, the Chun Doo Hwan clique will frame up cases of violence while they themselves resort to violence. As did Hitler, they keep on committing acts of gangsterism such as the fire case at the Memorial Hall of Independence and the explosion case at the Kimpo Airport at the time of the Asian Games. But it must be taken into consideration that the people are becoming wiser gradually. Underhand operations, too, have their limits. This is why the Reunification Democratic Party has come into being like that in the midst of intrigues, concoctions and violence. The present enthusiastic atmosphere can never be smothered."

It is reported that Ho Hwa Pyong and Ho Sam Su out of the three Hos who had wielded power freely as ringsters of the Chun Doo Hwan group when this clique had made their start seven years ago, are returning from America, to which they had fled because of the military authority's antipathy, so as to strengthen the positions around Chun. They are probably planning to reinforce their defences. But marooned on a solitary island forsaken by everybody, they will be swallowed up by the waves if a storm breaks out.

Eruption of Resentments and the Eve of the Revolution

June 17, 1987

Journalists' Statement on the Prevailing Situation and the Case of the Journal "Mal" (Language)

It is cynical. The newspaper "Dong-A Ilbo's" 114 journalists issued the statement "Our Claims for Democracy" on May 25. This was known to the champions of the democratization movement through the Japanese newspaper "Asahi Shimbun" of May 26. So, I obtained a copy of their statement with difficulty and reading it, confirmed again that the struggle for democratization was spreading all over the country. The statement is as follows:

"The continuous cases of abuse of authority such as the sexual torture at the Puchon police station and the murder of Pak Jong Chol by torture and a series of abnormal cases such as the case of the Hyongje Welfare Home and the Pan Ocean Shipping Company's foreign currency flight case deepened the people's feelings of uneasiness and misgivings. And at last, as the attempt to conceal the murder of Pak Jong Chol through torture was brought to light, the people's distrust of the government increased radically. Observing this, we are concerned about the situation.

"Distrust of the nation for the politics and state power is attributable to the encroachment on the basic rights of the

people who are the masters and should be the choosers of the major state policies, to say nothing of the fact that they are unable to express their will freely. It is also ascribable to the political situation which does not allow true democracy and the establishment of democratic government.

“We think, therefore, that we should resume and finish the debate on constitutional amendment as soon as possible and, on this basis, take measures for democracy.

“1. It is a national consensus to amend the current constitution for democracy. Democratization which the people desire does not allow further delay. This is the first and foremost task of our age which should not be used as a means of political manoeuvring. The ‘April 13 special statement’ which unilaterally interrupted the debate on constitutional revision itself should be immediately withdrawn because it is a betrayal of the national consensus. Otherwise, the talk about democracy is nothing but lie. We believe that the withdrawal of the April 13 statement alone can be the point of new departure for the realization of constitutional revision and democratization which are the unanimous desire of the nation.

“2. Today people from all walks of life regard the restoration of the freedom of speech as the key to democratization and say that ‘There is no freedom of speech although there are newspapers and radio broadcasting,’ and scold them as a government-press complex and as a government-patronized press. As the present state of the press shows, although press freedom has become the concern of the entire nation, the government is continuing undisguised interference in and control of the press by such means as the issue of guidelines for the press, secret agents’ free run of the press organs, cancellation of articles, prohibition of sale, and intimidation. Furthermore, it makes no scruple to unwar-

ranted imprisonment and indiscriminate beating of the reporters.

"The true restoration of the freedom of speech can be effected not by the amendment or repeal of the basic law on the press which is reportedly under consideration by the government nor by rehabilitation of local correspondents but by the efforts of the pressmen themselves to restore it along with the complete abolition of the press control by the government.

"As the freedom of speech not only concerns the press itself but is the essential prerequisite for democratization which is ardently desired by the nation, we sternly demand an immediate cessation of the government's overt interference in and unwarranted control of speech and the press and all manner of pressure. We declare that we will make every effort to win back and defend the freedom of speech and call on all journalists to join us.

"3. In connection with the publication of the guidelines for the press by the magazine 'Mal' (Language) three pressmen under trial including Kim Ju On, reporter of the newspaper 'Hanguk Ilbo', have been arrested and prosecuted. This is tantamount to legal sanction against all the pressmen of the present age. We believe that the legal action against the disclosure of the existent guidelines for the press which is a courageous act is nul and void and therefore demand their immediate release."

On May 29 over 150 reporters of the newspaper "Hanguk Ilbo" issued a statement under the title "Our View on the Present State of the Press" demanding constitutional amendment and freedom of the speech. What is especially striking among the struggles of the pressmen is the May 10 statement of the reporters of the editorial board of the newspaper "Seoul Sinmun". It is an organ of the government and the director of

the newspaper company is the former Minister of Culture and Information. Here is its full text.

Our Claim for the Development of the "Seoul Sinmun"

"Our newspaper 'Seoul Sinmun' is completely isolated and stands on the verge of bankruptcy due to the mistrust and antagonism among its staff internally and to the restricted sources of coverage and complete indifference of the readers externally. Things have developed to such an extent that it draws forth official protests from foreign embassies because of distorted reports and montaged photographs, and our colleagues send in resignations provoked beyond endurance by forced articles. In business administration, too, practices never known before are appearing. Some take flight with collected money, unable to attain the too highly set targets, and others leave their posts one after another. We believe this is all attributable to the outright arbitrariness and despotism of Director Li Jin Hui. Particularly his excessive interference in editing greatly reduces the work efficiency and unity of the members of the editorial board and prevents us working on the newspaper from having the least unbiased eye as journalists.

"We have keenly realized that in some one year and two months of his office Director Li Jin Hui has reduced the newspaper to a tool for distorting facts and satisfying his ambition for fame and are convinced that all problems will be solved only if he resigns as soon as possible. Director Li Jin Hui must quit.

"We want to make it clear that we demand his resignation not from personal feelings but from our wholehearted desire to promote the development of the newspaper 'Seoul Sinmun' and the country. We urge some of our seniors on the newspaper 'Seoul Sinmun' to awake, desisting from vying with each other to show blind loyalty to Director Li Jin Hui

oblivious of the aforesaid reality.”

On May 27 the three pressmen who had been arrested and imprisoned for over six months in connection with the case of the magazine “Mal” which published the guidelines for the press issued by the government authorities to the press organs the previous year, were demanded to serve three-year prison terms respectively. In his final statement the reporter Kim Ju On of the “Hanguk Ilbo” first referred to the statement made by the reporters of the newspaper “Dong-A Ilbo” and thanked them for their courageous act. Previous to the passing of judgement of the first trial due on June 3, the Catholic Seoul diocese decided on awarding the first “Catholic prize for free press” to Kim Tae Hong, Chin Hong Bom and Kim Ju On involved in the “Mal” case.

On May 31, Sunday, Cardinal Kim Su Hwan read mass at a gathering of thousands of believers and guests and awarded medals and prize money to their families. He praised them for “fighting devotedly for the freedom of speech essential for humanizing this society and democratizing the country.”

This was a great protest against their arrest and trial by the Chun Doo Hwan clique. This trial aroused protests from the journalists of the world, and foreign reporters were seen in court when sentence was passed upon them on June 3. Owing to such protests, two of them were sentenced to a reprieve and one to probation.

Operations to Cover Up the Culprits of Pak Jong Chol's Murder by Torture

On May 18 a mass was held in memory of the victims of the May 18 Kwangju resistance at the Myongdong Cathedral

in Seoul. Suddenly, when the mass ended, Father Kim Sung Hun said that in addition to the two policemen now in detention, there were three more culprits involved in the case of Pak Jong Chol's death from torture which had taken place four months before. This made the congregation of over 2,000 persons gasp with surprise and horror. He asserted that the three principal offenders had made up the two men who were good talkers into scapegoats. They had been relieved of their posts for a time, but were rehabilitated early in May, he added.

Sending the two men to prison in their place, they promised that they would continue to pay them salaries and give 100 million *won* each after the case was settled and even showed their bankbooks to the prisoners. It is said that they have already paid tens of million *won* to their families. But the mind of Police Lieutenant Cho Han Gyong in prison changed in the meantime. A heavy penalty is inescapable in view of the trend of the public opinion, and although the police promised to fix everything all right, they appear to become cooler gradually, he thought. Moreover, he and his family were distressed at the fact that although An Du Hui who assassinated Kim Gu, President of the former Provisional Government in Shanghai, in 1949 was saved from death by the Syngman Rhee government, he was compelled to live as a social outcast all his life. In particular, the police lieutenant was shocked at the news that the assassin living in the shade was discovered and attacked recently in spite of his old age. In addition, he and his family who are Catholics seem to have undergone a great mental agitation due to the rapid change in the recent political situation. In his interviews with his wife, and in his letters, he repeatedly appealed that he was not the culprit.

Father Kim Sung Hun made public this fact at the risk of his life. The public prosecution must have known almost from

the beginning about such camouflaging operations. No faith can be placed in the investigations by such a prosecution in future. Father Kim Sung Hun and Cho's lawyer say they are ready to publish still more serious facts if the public prosecutor does not make clear the truth of the case. Even after things took this turn, it appears pressure is brought to bear on the two men in prison. Interviews were forbidden, and then it was given out that the prisoners, declining to see anyone, would send away the visitors. During the interrogation they lacked unity and clarity in statement. At any rate, the three persons were arrested additionally.

Today the public trial started at last. But it is said that in court the five men are putting the blame on one another. Owing to this question, the Democratic Party in opposition moved for the exercise of the right to inquire into state affairs. When this move was turned down, the party went on a hunger strike. Thus, turbulent days went by. Newspapers gave prominent coverage to the progress of events and took up the matter in their editorials.

"How is it that the investigation of the case of murder by torture was left in the hands of the police from the beginning? What was the true motive of the hasty cremation and the inspection of the scene of the crime without the presence of the offenders? Is it really groundless that the two policemen arrested as culprits earlier were paid an enormous amount of money in return for taking on the unjust charge?" (From the editorial of the "Dong-A Ilbo" of May 22.)

"The on-the-spot investigation which ought to dispel our doubts ended by increasing them. During the inspection of the scene police Lieutenant Cho Han Gyong and Sergeant Kang Jin Gyu who were detained earlier did not repeat their plead that 'they were not the real offenders'. Was their plead a lie? Is their families' claim that they cannot believe in the

results of the on-the-spot investigation a quibble?" (From the editorial of the "Dong-A Ilbo" of May 26.)

The Democratic Party is investigating the case by itself. According to its interim report, Cho's father said that after his son's arrest five or six policemen installed themselves in his house and now answered telephone calls and now turned away visitors, and that after ten days they forcibly moved the family to an apartment house in spite of his wife's protest. A superior officer of the police visited Cho in prison and threatened him, "All your family shall be shot dead." Under such circumstances, the preparatory committee for the pan-national meeting to denounce the concealment and fabrication of fact about the Pak Jong Chol's murder by torture was formed with the participation of the Democratic Party and the religious and democratization movement forces. It decided to hold the national meeting on June 10. Let me quote a passage from its statement here.

"From now on we will not trust any results of the investigation published by the present government. Therefore, we call upon the National Assembly to form a special group for the investigation of the torture cases and inquire into the truth of all the questionable torture cases of the past by exercising the right to look into state affairs. At the same time, we propose that the South Korean Bar Association investigate this case independently and clarify its truth, and urge the authorities concerned to cooperate with this."

If the Chun Doo Hwan clique accepts this demand, their power will be shaken to its foundation. They have no other means of rule than violence. What then are the means of resistance left to the people? Many hunger strikes have continued so far. On June 4, the 25th day of his hunger strike, Rev. An Dong Hae of the Pyonggang Church in Mokpo, South Cholla Province, made public his message under the

title "Address to the President and the Nation." I would like to quote a few paragraphs from it.

"The people ardently desired that a new original party be founded. Government party members, what on earth have you done? Do you outrage the new party with such groundless facts? Without a new original party the government party will have no *raison d'être* in this land. You are laying false charges to it referring to state policy and accusing it of Left inclination, pro-communist acts and what not. Can't you desist from it? The people are wise. You must know that because the people have enough wisdom to judge what the state policy, pro-communist acts and Left inclination are, they will not be taken in by your lies.

"I would like to make a remark about the democrats in distress. They are the conscience and torch which shed light on this dark land. Why is it that you put so many people in a bunch into prison? Do you, the man of authority, turn a deaf ear to the resentful voices of the democratic persons? Can you sleep a peaceful sleep? Their only sin is that they spoke truth from their ardent patriotic feelings concerned for the country.

"The infringement on the human rights of Kim Dae Jung is too much. What is it in the world that over 1,000-strong police forces are surrounding the house of a single person? He is not allowed to exchange letters with others. This is a sort of lawlessness and an act of folly that reveals the true colours of the present government. The police must lift this siege as soon as possible. And he must be given liberty. His rehabilitation is imperative to ensure his legitimate activities."

Pastor Kang Hui Nam of a village church in Kimje, North Cholla Province, is in Chonju prison in the same province on the charge of violating the National Security Law because of his criticism of the Chun Doo Hwan clique. Although he is 67 years old, he staged a hunger strike for 40 days in the prison,

which ended on June 3. According to the document released by the congregation of the church, he fought against the plunder of the farm areas by the Chun Doo Hwan government. He was imprisoned in November last year for his lecture "Democracy and Fabrication of Pro-communist Cases." In late April he started a hunger strike in resistance to the April 13 suspension of the debate on constitutional amendment. Here are some of his remarks.

"Clergymen have only borne their crosses in word until now. But now is the time for them to bear their crosses on their backs. Young people of this land numbering more than 30 including students and workers died. Then how can it be that not a single clergyman die."

"Clergymen are watchdogs over the house of God. If the dog does not bark at a thief, the house will be robbed. Therefore, the mission of the prophet is inevitably incumbent on today's south Korean church. I pray you become a clergyman for the people". (His words in prison to encourage a newly ordained priest.)

One of the five students who joined Pastor Kang Hui Nam in the hunger strike in Chonju prison attempted his own life with a piece of glass he got by breaking a windowpane. Two girl students drank caustic soda to kill themselves, and a male student cut his artery and fell into a critical state. Many students who tried to follow suit were beaten by prison warders. This situation is spreading to the prisons all over south Korea. In addition, democratic personages including clergymen are continuing hunger strikes. Even after Pak Jong Chol was murdered by torture, interrogations by tortures continue to frame up facts.

On May 17 Hwangbo Yong Guk sprinkled kerosene on his body and set himself on fire in Pusan. He fell to the ground in flames, shouting, "Down with dictatorship" and "Let's win

democratic constitution." He was sent to hospital, but breathed his last on the 25th. On May 20 Han Bong Sop, a bus driver in Songnam south of Seoul, sprayed thinner on his body and set fire to himself in protest against the inhuman treatment by the company management. He was severely injured and is now in hospital. Worker Kim Dong Gun who attempted suicide by burning himself on account of a dispute about labour on April 30 is now in Koryo University hospital. The church continues to appeal for donations for his hospital expenses.

The Case of Seoul Education College and Li Han Ryol's Loss of Consciousness

It must be said that the brute force of the Chun Doo Hwan clique is omnipresent in this land. On June 4, two students of Seoul Education College rushed into the office of the Human Rights Committee of the South Korean Christian Church Council and started a hunger strike demanding the resignation of Rector Chong Tae Su and abolition of the interrogation room. Their statement entitled "Starting a Sit-in Hunger Strike in Denunciation of the Outrages of the Hooligan Professors, We Ask If We, the Students of Seoul Education College, Are Slaves of Chong Tae Su," begins by saying:

"Justice- and peace-loving citizens of this land! We are third-year students of Seoul Education College. Unable to endure any more our sufferings from so many acts of violence, reviling, beating and illegal detention in the campus, we appeal to you citizens. Rector Chong Tae Su of Seoul Education College, his underlings Choe Song Rak, head of the student affairs department, and Han Un Bong, member of the standing committee for student guidance, are the culprits

of the violence. Making no scruple to commit acts of self-righteousness, invectives and beatings unworthy of educationists, they have converted Seoul Education College into a grave of human rights. To begin with, we denounce their barbarities of violence, wild language and assault we have recently experienced."

According to this statement, the Seoul Education College, unlike other institutions of higher learning, has a standing committee for student guidance, and Han Un Bong in charge of the committee was a formerly military drill instructor and has even an interrogation room with iron-



The people who have risen in the anti-government struggle put up a fierce fight against the riot police that attack them with random shots of tear-gas shells

grilled windows next to his office. He calls out students in the middle of lectures for investigation for reasons of their membership in a reading circle and tortures them at will in the interrogation room. At times, students are summoned to the standing committee for student guidance. Head of the student affairs department Choe Song Rak and unprincipled professors are present at it and even the rector appears there. They force the students to confess all the facts they know. If anyone unable to endure it any more should try to run out, they drag him back and beat and abuse him, threatening, "You have three alternatives: the first is to be referred to the disciplinary committee; the second—to sign the application for leaving the college; and the third—to tell everything."

Such is the real position of the 2,300 students of Seoul Education College. In this regard, the rector spoke out wildly at a gathering of the students, "Standing Committee Head Han Un Bong interrogates students by virtue of my authority. My words are immediately the laws of the Seoul Education College. Even if you 2,300 students are opposed to what I do, your fate is in my hands. My word decides everything."

It can be said that this sort of insane feudalistic despotism prevails under the rule of the Chun Doo Hwan clique. This is why the students demanded the resignation of the rector, closure of the interrogation room and inquiry into the truth about the incidents which took place in the college. At last, 1,500 students of the first, second and third year classes launched a signature collecting campaign in support of their fellow students' hunger strike in the campus from the 9th, and held a large forum, followed by a demonstration. In this process the misdeeds of the rector and a group of professors around him were revealed still more clearly. So, the honest professors issued a statement in support of the students' struggle, which said, "The professors who have kept silence

until now about Chong Tae Su's behaviours unbecoming to an educationist repent deeply of themselves," "Chong Tae Su, repeal at once the system of secret student agents watching the activities of students and professors," "Stop at once the non-educational measures of suppressing the professors' activities by means of instructions, coercion and threats to the faculty council and by the fabrication of pro-communist charges against it."

In connection with this case, the newspapers criticized it severely, pointing out, "The committee for student guidance called out students even in the middle of lectures and interrogated them with the use of violence under the name of edification of problematic students." In this situation, the rector raved that this was not violence but 'corporal punishment' for the educational purpose and that such practices were inevitable because it was a college for training teachers. But some ten days after the disclosure of the fact, he was compelled to express his readiness to resign. On June 16 the Ministry of Education issued an order to the Seoul Education College to close. Can politics be so imperative as this? When politics turns violent, everything in society becomes violent like mad. Such powerful tear-gas shells are fired recklessly on the streets all over the country, with the result that trees wither, dermatitis develops, and people are ill with cold all day long. So, perhaps the brute force of the Chun Doo Hwan clique is going to eat up this society and the people and nature of this country. It is no exaggeration to say that this situation at last compelled the entire people to rise in a struggle of late.

In such circumstances Li Han Ryol, a second-year student of the industrial administration department of Yonsei University, fell unconscious struck by a tear shell in a demonstration in the afternoon of June 9 and was taken to the

Severance Hospital. In a shower of tear shells the students were retreating when he was struck on the back of his head and fell to the ground. Two foreign correspondents covering the scene were the first to pick him up, they say. On the afternoon of the 10th the Severance Hospital announced that it was impossible to perform an operation because there were "many alien substances, each being as big as a millet grain" in the brain. Under an oxygen mask he is now hovering between life and death. It is believed that if he dies, a great resistance of students will take place. The tear-gas shells now in use are the most powerful ones, and the gas causes a sharp pain in the eyes as if they are gouged out. Even washing by water cannot remove it easily. This notwithstanding, they are shot at random now, so the streets of Seoul need to be washed up at night. What, then, will happen to the rivers? Even nature has to groan due to the evil men. Following this incident, voices calling for the banishment of tear shells will inevitably grow louder. Owing to the incident, the summer vacation will be given earlier than usual, it is said.

It could be safely said that the reckless firing of tear shells like this proves the futility of the operations of the riot police to suppress demonstrations. The Chun Doo Hwan clique assigned even fresh conscripts to the police. Usually, these young men in khaki are put in the forefront in the suppression of demonstrations, behind them come the well-trained riot police in bluish green uniform capable of Taekwon-Do. The rear is brought up by the tear-shell shooting unit. The soldier-police on the first line give way, and the second line is in danger. Now tear shells are shot vehemently.

The power of the Chun Doo Hwan clique is safeguarded by tear bombs rather than by the riot police, we could say. If even this fails to do the trick, are they going to fire away from tanks and helicopters? The situation is likely to change rapidly

and enter such a stage. No one knows how the situation will develop with the explosion of the people's resentments.

Formation of the Headquarters of the National Movement to Fight for a Democratic Constitution

The director of the newspaper "Seoul Sinmun" was expelled at last by the tough resistance of its staff. I wonder if the signs of dawn of democracy are appearing on the one hand even under the terrorist rule of the Chun Doo Hwan clique. The case of counterfeiting the culprits of the torture resulting in the death of Pak Jong Chol led at last to the replacement of the prime minister, deputy prime minister, ministers of home affairs, finance, justice and director of the Security Planning Board, or CIA on May 26. Thus, the so-called "Cabinet reshuffle for censuring the persons concerned" was "carried out". But none of the people believes that this will save the situation.

The newly appointed Prime Minister Li Han Gi is a man who curried favour with the authorities from the time of Park Jung Hee. He received a telephone call from Chun Doo Hwan at 2:30 in the morning of the 25th. Embarrassed, he had a talk with his friends about the matter and said that he would not assume the office of prime minister in such a chaotic time. However, they laughed at him, saying, "Your appointment will be published before you return home." This was the way the personnel affairs were handled.

It may be said that there were a few mistakes in Chun Doo Hwan's calculations. It was a trial for him that he lost Chang Se Dong of the Security Planning Board and Prime Minister Ro Sin Yong. The same is true of the nomination of Roh Tae

Woo as the candidate for the next President. Although he dismissed them temporarily in face of the resistance of the nation, he is dreaming a wild dream that because Roh Tae Woo is incapable of coping with the difficult situation, an opportunity will come once more for himself and these men. It is said therefore that he is in a complex state of mind wishing that Roh Tae Woo should fail to save the situation rather than succeeding. This is a wishful desire of those who are doomed to ruin, but tempted by this empty dream, these terrorist forces are drifting along with the current, all in one and the same boat. Among the forces fighting against them, new ideas have been born and new organizations formed, and they worked out excellent strategy and tactics and gained confidence in addition to their moral resolution. This means that the revolutionary situation is maturing.

June 10 was a day when the resisting forces demonstrated this attitude more clearly. Why did the Chun Doo Hwan clique choose this day of all days to decide on their candidate for the Presidency and announce it? Does this mean that the famous fortune-teller of the town who is regarded as the final adviser to them made a mistake this time, too?

The fortune-teller must be ignorant about the history of his nation while he is well-versed in the science of divination.

It was the anniversary of the day in 1926 when the funeral of Sun Jong, the last king of the Korean dynasty, was held and when the well-known June Tenth Independence Movement took place. Was the Chun Doo Hwan clique ignorant of that day 61 years ago? Or was it that they could not afford to take it into account? Either case may be possible, because these south Korean soldiers are a gang who are not faithful to the history of their nation but display their loyalty for the security of the United States, and under the aegis of the US army pursue their own interests and try to remain in office in-

definitely. Or perhaps they consider June 10 the day of breakdown of national resistance, and put themselves in the place of the Japanese rulers. Needless to say, the newspapers do not mention it. I wonder whether the Chun Doo Hwan clique knew that this was the topic of conversation among the young people and resistance forces.

Anyway that date will be recorded in history as the most unhappy day for Roh Tae Woo who was nominated as the "candidate for President" by the Chun Doo Hwan clique and the Democratic Justice Party. Their sad fate was decided that day. Voices calling for democratization were raised from among people of all walks of life. Even doctors, dentists and Korean medicine doctors collectively issued a statement in demand of democratization.

Such forces were marshalled and at 8:30 a.m. on May 27 in a church in Seoul the Headquarters of the National Movement to Fight for a Democratic Constitution was formed by 2,196 promoters representing the Protestant and Catholic Churches, Buddhism, the Federation of the Popular Movement for Democracy and Unification, political circles, the press, educational circles, woman organizations, farmers, workers and the poor. It is a united organization involving Kim Dae Jung, Kim Young Sam, the Democratic Party and other opposition democratic forces. That day the inaugural congress made public four documents entitled "On the Occasion of Forming the Headquarters of the National Movement to Fight for a Democratic Constitution," "Address to the Nation," "Let Us Win a Democratic Constitution and Establish a Democratic Government!—Declaration on Forming the Headquarters of the National Movement to Fight for a Democratic Constitution," and "Resolution". Here are quotations from them.

"On April 21 the fathers of the Kwangju Catholic Diocese

went on a hunger strike against the April 13 measure and the fasting prayer of the fathers immediately spread to 14 dioceses across the country. The Protestant Church, too, expressed its opposition by statements, sit-ins, meetings and other means in its respective parish or jointly. Thousands of priests already joined the campaign for repealing the despotic constitution. In addition, the representatives of south Korea's Priest Council for Peace and Justice had their hair cut close and expressed their firm determination. Over 700 Buddhist monks put their signatures to a statement against the April 13 measure. The priests of the Wongak Temple in Kwangju lodged a protest against the police outrage of firing tear-gas shells into the sacred main hall of the temple where the Buddhist service was being held. Buddhist monks staged sit-in hunger strikes everywhere. Voices of conscience of professors, writers, artists, theatrical people, moviemens, pressmen, lawyers were heard everywhere across the country. Almost all the people call for the withdrawal of the April 13 measure and genuine democratization. The move towards democratization has become an irresistible trend of history on this land." (From "On the Occasion of Forming the Headquarters of the National Movement to Fight for a Democratic Constitution.")

"People of the Nation! Who are the masters of this country? The corrupt dictatorial authority? The rotten monopolist big businesses? Or the terrorist police covering up tortures resulting in death? No, they never can be masters of this country. This is why they have no national pride, nor desire for a democratic country, nor intention to achieve national reunification. They cannot achieve them. They only domineer over the people, the masters of the country, making them desperate in tears and lamentation. Although they talk about democratization and the people's subsistence, it is

nothing but lip homage. If the people win back their rights as masters of the country, the dictatorial forces cannot survive. This is why they desperately oppose the democratization of the country. We, the people, must reject them. As long as the military junta exists, griefs, sufferings and tears will never end on this land."

"Citizens! Now is the time for us to unite and resolutely rise in a struggle. Let us overthrow the military junta which should not have been born, and establish a democratic government. Let us build a society in which our basic rights—human freedom, freedom of the press, speech, assembly, association and thought and the rights to live and work in good health, give education to one's children and enjoy cultural benefits to the full — are ensured. Brilliant new days are imminent when the imprisoned democrats will rush out of prison and men and women, young and old, shout 'Long live democracy', 'Long live national reunification!' at the top of their voices on the streets, in factories and fields, embracing each other for joy and shedding hot tears, and they all enjoy democracy. If we fight, we will win victory. Let us fight. Let us win victory. Let us leave behind a bright future for our posterity." (From "Address to the Nation.")

"1. We declare null and void morally and legally the April 13 statement which defends the dictatorial constitution because it denies the true ideas of building a democratic Korea and democratization which is an absolute demand of the people in our times, extend full support to the stance of all social circles against the dictatorial constitution and for a democratic one, and organize and launch a nationwide campaign for its realization.

"2. We launch a nationwide campaign for the democratic amendment of the all evil laws such as the present constitution which totally suppresses the basic rights of the people,

the law on assembly and demonstration, the evil articles of the criminal law and National Security Law and the labour law which were enacted by the Yushin dictatorial National Assembly and other dictatorial apparatuses that cannot represent the people.” (From the “Resolution.”) In addition, the “Resolution” says that it decides to conduct a nationwide movement for six-point demands including the inquiry into the truth of historical crimes, release of political prisoners, suspension of the use of gas shells and violent administration, denunciation of the government-controlled radio and specific newspapers and pressmen, self-reestablishment of the lost honour of the civil servants and army men.

On June 10, while the Chun Doo Hwan clique held a congress of the Democratic Justice Party at the Chamsil indoor stadium in the south of Seoul, in which Roh Tae Woo was nominated for President, a decision was adopted to hold a national meeting to denounce the concealment of the Pak Jong Chol’s murder by torture and demand the abolition of the dictatorial constitution on a nationwide scale. Many lawyers joined the Headquarters of the National Movement to Fight for a Democratic Constitution. 831 persons from 11 literary and fine art organizations, too, joined this movement. On June 8 the cultural workers’ joint committee for democratic constitution under the Headquarters of the National Movement to Fight for a Democratic Constitution issued a statement entitled “Let Us Achieve Democratization, Liberation and Reunification with Our Pen and with Our Bodies!” Kim Ji Ha was on the committee. The statement says in part: “Culture and art give comprehensive portrayal of human life. Men of culture and art who create them are specialists with specific skills and talent and, at the same time, members of a community which pursues freedom, truth and equality.

Therefore, we should undertake culture and art, a field of divided labour in the national community, and when the masses, the main body of the nation, suffer oppression and exploitation, we as members of the masses ought to fight the tyrants and exploiters....

“Let us unite ourselves and advance in a movement for democratic speech, popular art and democratic education and press in order to build a society where fellow countrymen do not hate nor plunder their compatriots, other nations do not divide our land in two, the beastly minority of the military does not lord it over the masses, the majority of the people, and the fruits of sweat and labour of the working people are fairly divided among them for a happy life.

“Let us men of culture and press pool our efforts to foil resolutely the military junta’s schemes for a long stay in power and win a democratic constitution! Let us achieve democratization, liberation and reunification with the pen of culture and art. Let us hold ever higher the banner of democracy, independence and reunification both by our pen and our whole bodies!”

Many new events are taking place before our eyes. Was there a time ever before when the Catholic and Protestant Churches united as one like now? Was there a time ever before when the Roman Catholic Church committed itself so enthusiastically to the national task as now? Was there ever an instance of Buddhists rising up like now because 50 tear-gas shells were shot into the temple’s 20-*pyong* wide main hall? Was there ever a case in which the religious circles united themselves in a body and formed a united front with the political forces including the Democratic Party? Was there ever a case in which men of letters and artists declared so clearly that it is immoral, inhuman and unartistic to advocate art for art’s sake when sufferings and deaths of the people are reported?

Many new aspects of history are appearing. The people's resentments are pent up. The moves of the intellectuals to express them in a definite form and clear ideas are irresistible. After long setbacks and defeats, will the so earnestly desired alliance of the intellectuals and the masses topple the terrorist power at last? This may mark a new epoch as a brilliant chapter in Korean history. The long pent-up spite of the people may be vent.

Confrontation on June 10

The Democratic Justice Party announced that on June 10 it nominated Roh Tae Woo for President in a great show where popular songs were sung by professional singers and dances were performed even by mobilizing clowns. This happened at a time when the entire nation was infuriated at the cover-up operations of the crime of murder by torture. President Kim Young Sam of the Democratic Party likened this to dance at a house where a watch is kept over the dead.

As for the democratization forces, the Democratic Party and the Democratization Promotion Council decided to hold a meeting to denounce the scheme for long-term office at 10 o'clock in the morning. And it was scheduled to hold a national meeting denouncing the cover-up of the torture resulting death and demanding the repeal of the dictatorial constitution in the churches of the major cities across the country at 6 o'clock in the afternoon. Thus, in Seoul alone a 55,000-strong combat police force was called out and they fired tear shells at random. Clashes took place everywhere. At night disorder reigned and police boxes were wrapped in flames. According to the police announcement, the number of the wounded reached 768 and those carried off to the police, 3,831.

Over 200,000 persons participated in demonstrations throughout the country. Around the entrance of Ulji Street in Seoul, a corps of 200 mobile policemen was encircled and disarmed by 7,000 demonstrators. Later their arms were returned to them. A large number of citizens participated in the demonstrations and acted in concert with the students. Numerous citizens applauded them.

At 6 o'clock in the afternoon motor horns were sounded all at once in protest. Citizens put out lights for ten minutes from 9 o'clock in the evening to express their protest. Over 1,000 citizens and students went on an indefinite sit-in at the Myongdong Cathedral. Citizens brought them more than enough vermicell and other precooked foods through the police cordon. Tens of million *won* of money was collected to encourage them. In the early morning of the 13th, 13 persons including Vice-President Yang Sun Jik of the Democratic

Youth and students trample underfoot the pictures of Chun Doo Hwan and Roh Tae Woo demanding the establishment of a democratic government



Party and Rev. Pak Hyong Gyu were arrested as the prime sponsors of the national meeting. The rumour spread immediately that because Vice-President Yang was the leader of the Tonggyo-dong group of Kim Dae Jung's followers, Kim Dae Jung would be charged again with sedition and a plot against the government.

The citizens and students who had been staging the sit-in in the Myongdong Cathedral returned home safely before noon on June 15. The police raised their siege under a promise not to outrage them. However, even now demonstrations continue everywhere and unrest is in the air. The Chun Doo Hwan clique was utterly flurried and is still unable to conceal their confusion. In Masan and Kwangju, demonstrations involving some 10,000 people respectively took place. In Pusan an international football game had to be suspended for 30 minutes. The tear-gas shells fired at the demonstrators drifted into the stadium. So, on the TV screen staggering players were seen for a while. The telecast station seems to have been helpless. This aroused a great doubt at home and abroad as to the possibility of the Seoul Olympics next year. In Pusan nearly 100,000 citizens and students filled the streets, it was reported.

The newspapers gave rather detailed reports, but all of them can hardly be mentioned here. The underground and bus services were completely paralysed. Citizens in the buses gave the demonstrators a big hand. So, tear shells were fired into the buses and this caused a great panic. The mobile police who fled this way and that may have shot tear shells blindly in self-defence. On the night of June 15 over 10,000 Fathers, Sisters, believers and citizens held a "mass of the priesthood for democratization" at the Myongdong Cathedral and then held a demonstration, lighted candles in hand. They filled the streets of Myongdong.

The demonstration of June 10 was in general non-violent under the guidance of the Headquarters of the National Movement. Only the demonstrators shouted the slogans vehemently.

“We won’t be deceived any more. Get out, false government!”

“Let us win a democratic constitution and establish a democratic government!”

“Pak Jong Chol will revive in the fighting citizens!”

“Withdraw the claim for the defence of the constitution which is a betrayal of national consensus!”

The declaration of the June 10 meeting entitled “We Declare in the Name of the Entire Nation That the April 13 Measure for Defending the Current Constitution Which Betrayed the National Consensus Is Null and Void” begins by pointing out:

“Amid the close attention of the whole world, we take a big step forward along with the entire nation to put an end to the 40-year-long dictatorship and build a hopeful democratic state. Here we set out on a long march for democracy to show the wrath of the people to the current government that attempted to deceive them with impudence after murdering by barbarous torture the fine young people who are the future and hope of the country, and to force them to withdraw the outrageous April 13 measure for unilaterally rejecting the constitutional revision which represents the aspiration of the nation.”

The churches tolled their bells 42 times. This meant starting a long march for democracy to end the 42-year-long dictatorship beginning in 1945. In his interview with reporters Kim Young Sam said that he along with the people would not accept the presidential election at the stadium by the Democratic Justice Party on any account and stressed that a

revolution in election should be brought about through democratization. The Headquarters of the National Movement to Fight for a Democratic Constitution declared, "Even in case Roh Tae Woo is elected 'President', this will have nothing to do with the greater part of the people and mean nothing more than the election of the representative of one party, which will only bring misfortune for individuals and the people." On June 11 Kim Dae Jung was reported as commenting:

"Yesterday the Chun government went into an irreconcilable battle with the nation. This finds expression in their nomination of the presidential candidate in disregard of the will of the nation and in the unlimited attack on the meetings of peaceful citizens.

"They are now pushed into a tight corner where they have to choose between trampling underfoot the democratic will of the nation by means of violence and giving up their foul wild design in the face of the strength of the nation.

"In the meantime, our people fully demonstrated their image and strength as a democratic people with great potentials by taking the most courageous and seasoned attitude.

"No one can now deny that the day is not far when our people will win democracy through their nonviolent and indomitable struggle.

"I am determined to continue with the peaceful struggle unyieldingly together with the people until the current government gives up its ambitious scheme of unrestricted one-party dictatorship and obeys the democratic will of the nation."

It must be said that Kim Dae Jung's understanding of the current situation is very correct. Which road will the Chun Doo Hwan clique choose? It goes without saying that they are

bereft of reason and conscience to choose other road than that leading to self-destruction.

Let me conclude my report of today by adding here the comment of a friend deeply involved in the democratization movement.

"This time Li Han Gi was appointed prime minister although he declined pleading his age of 70. No one supported Roh Tae Woo at the time of the recent Cabinet reshuffle. CIA Director Chang Se Dong resigned, and when his underlings tried to quit by submitting their resignation, Chun Doo Hwan dissuaded them. He advised them to use prudence and wait. I don't know Roh's lot yet. Perhaps Chun Doo Hwan wants to say that Chang Se Dong is better than Roh Tae Woo. It is possible that they arrest Kim Dae Jung by kicking up a dust about operations from the north. Even if Chun Doo Hwan steps down from the post of President, he will still hold the lever of power behind the scenes and throw his weight about when the Olympic Games is held. In his opinion the 16th and 17th term graduates of the Military Academy think that Chun Doo Hwan, Roh Tae Woo and other 11th-term graduates may as well retire from the stage now and let them have their turn, and so give their support for this sake. It is inevitable that the resistance of the nation to this move is increasing greatly. From now the fight will not be limited to one party but will involve the whole nation. This time the young people gained strength and confidence from the participation of the people at large and their morale is sky-high. What ploy and violence will the Chun Doo Hwan clique use to counter this? Or rather, the decisive key must be in the hand of the United States. It is noteworthy that almost all the political staff of the US embassy in south Korea have been replaced in this month. In early May Ambassador Lilley was ordered home and the south Korean Minister of Defence was

transferred to another post. This presumably means that the United States admitted their failure in their policy towards south Korea.

“The resistance of the nation continues even now. The Chun Doo Hwan clique will create a temporary lull and resort to tricks. However, the nation will flare up in a fight any time. The Chun Doo Hwan clique is powerless to cope with this situation. In the coming autumn one million demonstrators will flood the streets of Seoul and demand the ousting of Chun Doo Hwan. Then the police will be helpless before them. The United States will permit the calling out of troops. What will be the attitude of the troops? Will the case of the Philippines serve as a lesson for them? No one can tell. An international sports contest was suspended in Pusan. The democratic forces will not probably allow the Olympic Games to proceed peacefully under the steamroller politics of the Chun Doo Hwan clique. Because they think that the destiny of the country and the people is more precious than a show like the Olympics.”

This is the eve of the revolution. Will the revolution be victorious or will it end halfway? Even if it will end halfway, it will only be a stage they must go through for complete victory some day that will come before long. Our people do not succumb to difficulties under any circumstances. When will the history of this nation follow the path of normal development without the revolution of this sort?



*Printed in the Democratic People's
Republic of Korea*



PYONGYANG, KOREA
1988